

LENIN

about the press



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Publishers' Note

The present volume has been prepared by the Union of Soviet Journalists and the Union of German Journalists (G.D.R.) at the request of the International Organisation of Journalists. From the major articles, speeches, reports, notes, letters and extracts therefrom, presented here, the reader will gain an idea of Lenin's views on the periodical press in Russia and other countries and on basic problems of the press. The collection is divided into sections according to subjects and is supplied with reference materials.

The translations come from Progress Publishers' edition of V. I. Lenin's Collected Works in 45 volumes.

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Section I

TRADITIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND PROLETARIAN PRESS

From the History of the Workers' Press in Russia

The history of the workers' press in Russia is indissolubly linked up with the history of the democratic and socialist movement. Hence, only by knowing the chief stages of the movement for emancipation is it possible to understand why the preparation and rise of the workers' press has proceeded in a certain way, and in no other.

The emancipation movement in Russia has passed through three main stages, corresponding to the three main classes of Russian society, which have left their impress on the movement: (1) the period of the nobility, roughly from 1825 to 1861; (2) the *raznochintsi* or bourgeois-democratic period, approximately from 1861 to 1895; and (3) the proletarian period, from 1895 to the present time.

The most outstanding figures of the nobility period were the Decembrists and Herzen. At that time, under the serf-owning system, there could be no question of differentiating a working class from among the general mass of serfs, the disfranchised "lower orders", "the ruck". In those days the illegal general democratic press, headed by Herzen's *Kolokol*, was the forerunner of the workers' (proletarian-democratic or Social-Democratic) press.

Just as the Decembrists roused Herzen, so Herzen and his *Kolokol* helped to rouse the *raznochintsi*—the educated representatives of the liberal and democratic bourgeoisie who belonged, not to the nobility but to the civil servants, urban petty bourgeois, merchant and peasant classes. It was V. G. Belinsky who, even before the abolition of serfdom, was a forerunner of the *raznochintsi* who were to completely oust the nobility from our emancip-

ation movement. The famous Letter to Gogol, which summed up Belinsky's literary activities, was one of the finest productions of the illegal democratic press, which has to this day lost none of its great and vital significance.

With the fall of the serf-owning system, the *raznochintsi* emerged as the chief actor from among the masses in the movement for emancipation in general, and in the democratic illegal press in particular. Narodism, which corresponded to the *raznochintsi* point of view, became the dominant trend. As a social trend, it never succeeded in dissociating itself from liberalism on the right and from anarchism on the left. But Chernyshevsky, who, after Herzen, developed the Narodnik views, made a great stride forward as compared with Herzen. Chernyshevsky was a far more consistent and militant democrat, his writings breathing the spirit of the class struggle. He resolutely pursued the line of exposing the treachery of liberalism, a line which to this day is hateful to the Cadets and liquidators. He was a remarkably profound critic of capitalism despite his utopian socialism.

The sixties and seventies saw quite a number of illegal publications, militant-democratic and utopian-socialist in content, which had started to circulate among the "masses". Very prominent among the personalities of that epoch were the workers Pyotr Alexeyev, Stepan Khalturin, and others. The proletarian-democratic current, however, was unable to free itself from the main stream of Narodism; this became possible only after Russian Marxism took ideological shape (the Emancipation of Labour group, 1883), and a steady workers' movement, linked with Social-Democracy, began (the St. Petersburg strikes of 1895-96).

But before passing to this period, from which the appearance of the workers' press in Russia really dates, we shall quote figures which strikingly illustrate the *class* differences between the movements of the three periods referred to. These figures show the classification of persons charged with state (political) crimes according to social estate or calling (class). For every 100 such persons there were:

	Nobles	Urban petty bourgeois and peasants	Peasants	Workers	Intellectuals
In 1827-46	76	23	?	?	?
In 1884-90	30.6	46.6	7.1	15.1	73.2
In 1901-03	10.7	80.9	9.0	46.1	36.7
In 1905-08	9.1	87.7	24.2	47.4	28.4

In the nobility or feudal period (1827-46), the nobles, who were an insignificant minority of the population, accounted for the vast majority of the "politicals" (76 %). In the Narodnik, *raznochintsi* period (1884-90; unfortunately, figures for the sixties and seventies are not available), the nobles dropped to second place, but still provided quite a high percentage (30.6 %). Intellectuals accounted for the overwhelming majority (73.2 %) of participants in the democratic movement.

In the 1901-03 period, which happened to be the period of the first political Marxist newspaper, the *old Iskra*, workers (46.1 %) predominated over intellectuals (36.7 %) and the movement became wholly democratised (10.7 % nobles and 80.9 % "non-privileged" people).

Running ahead, we see that in the period of the first mass movement (1905-08) the *only* change was that the intellectuals (28.4 % as against 36.7 %) were displaced by peasants (24.2 % as against 9.0 %).

Social-Democracy in Russia was founded by the Emancipation of Labour group, which was formed abroad in 1883. The writings of this group, which were printed abroad and uncensored, were the first systematically to expound and draw all the practical conclusions from the ideas of Marxism, which, as the experience of the entire world has shown, alone express the true essence of the working-class movement and its aims. For the twelve years between 1883 and 1895, practically the only attempt to establish a Social-Democratic workers' press in Russia was the publication in St. Petersburg in 1885 of the Social-Democratic newspaper *Rabochy*; it was of course illegal, but only two issues appeared. Owing to the absence of a mass working-class movement, there was no scope for the wide development of a workers' press.

The inception of a mass working-class movement, with the participation of Social-Democrats, dates from 1895-96, the time of the famous St. Petersburg strikes. It was then that a workers' press, in the real sense of the term, appeared in Russia. The chief publications in those days were illegal leaflets, most of them hectographed and devoted to "economic" (as well as non-economic) agitation, that is, to the needs and demands of the workers in different factories and industries. Obviously, this literature could not have existed without the advanced workers' most active participation in the task of compiling and circulating it. Among St. Petersburg workers active at the time mention should be made of Vasily Andreyevich Shelgunov, who later became blind and was unable to carry on with his former vigour, and Ivan Vasilyevich Babushkin, an ardent Iskrist (1900-03) and Bolshevik (1903-05), who was shot for taking part in an uprising in Siberia late in 1905 or early in 1906.

Leaflets were published by Social-Democratic groups, circles and organisations, most of which, after the end of 1895, became known as "Leagues of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class". The "Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" was founded in 1898 at a congress of representatives of local Social-Democratic organisations.

After the leaflets, illegal working-class newspapers began to appear; for example, in 1897 *St. Petersburg Rabochy Listok* appeared in St. Petersburg, followed by *Rabochaya Mysl*, which was shortly afterwards transferred abroad. Since then, almost right up to the revolution, local Social-Democratic newspapers came out illegally; true, they were regularly suppressed, but reappeared again and again all over Russia.

All in all, the workers' leaflets and Social-Democratic newspapers of the time—i.e., twenty years ago—were the direct forerunners of the present-day

working-class press: the same factory "exposures", the same reports on the "economic" struggle, the same treatment of the tasks of the working-class movement from the standpoint of Marxist principles and consistent democracy, and finally, *the same two main trends*—the Marxist and the opportunist—in the working-class press.

It is a remarkable fact, one that has not been duly appreciated to this day, that as soon as the *mass* working-class movement arose in Russia (1895-96), there at once appeared the division into Marxist and opportunist trends—a division which has changed in form and features, etc., but which has remained essentially the same from 1894 to 1914. Apparently, this particular kind of division and inner struggle among Social-Democrats has deep social and class roots.

The *Rabochaya Mysl*, mentioned above, represented the *opportunist* trend of the day, known as Economism. This trend became apparent in the disputes among the local leaders of the working-class movement as early as 1894-95. And abroad, where the awakening of the Russian workers led to an efflorescence of Social-Democratic literature as early as 1896, the appearance and rallying of the Economists ended in a split in the spring of 1900 (that is, prior to the appearance of *Iskra*, the first issue of which came off the press at the very end of 1900).

The history of the working-class press during the twenty years 1894-1914 is the history of the two trends in Russian Marxism and Russian (or rather all-Russia) Social-Democracy. To *understand* the history of the working-class press in Russia, one must know, not only and not so much the names of the various organs of the press—names which convey nothing to the present-day reader and simply confuse him—as the *content*, nature and ideological line of the different sections of Social-Democracy.

The chief organs of the Economists were *Rabochaya Mysl* (1897-1900) and *Rabocheye Dyelo* (1898-1901). *Rabocheye Dyelo* was edited by B. Krichevsky, who later went over to the syndicalists, A. Martynov, a prominent Menshevik and now a liquidator, and Akimov, now an "independent Social-Democrat" who in all essentials agrees with the liquidators.

At first only Plekhanov and the whole Emancipation of Labour group (the journal *Rabotnik*, etc.) fought the Economists, and then *Iskra* joined the fight (from 1900 to August 1903, up to the time of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.). What, exactly, was the essence of Economism?

In word, the Economists were all for a mass type of working-class movement and independent action by the workers, emphasising the paramount significance of "economic" agitation and urging moderation of gradualness in passing over to political agitation. As the reader sees, these are exactly the same catchwords that the liquidators flaunt today. In practice, however, the Economists pursued a liberal-labour policy, the gist of which was tersely expressed by S. N. Prokopovich, one of the Economist leaders at that time, in the words: "economic struggle is for the workers, political struggle is for the

liberals". The Economists, who made the most noise about the workers' independent activity and the mass movement, were in practice an opportunist and petty-bourgeois intellectual wing of the working-class movement.

The overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers, who in 1901-03 accounted for 46 out of every 100 persons charged with state crimes, as against 37 for the intelligentsia, sided with the *old Iskra*, against the opportunists. *Iskra's* three years of activity (1901-03) saw the elaboration of the Social-Democratic Party's Programme, its main tactics, and the forms in which the workers' economic and political struggle could be combined on the basis of consistent Marxism. During the pre-revolutionary years, the growth of the workers' press around *Iskra* and under its ideological leadership assumed enormous proportions. The number of illegal leaflets and unlicensed printing-presses was exceedingly great, and increased rapidly all over Russia.

Iskra's complete victory over Economism, the victory of consistent proletarian tactics over opportunist-intellectualist tactics in 1903, still further stimulated the influx of "fellow-travellers" into the ranks of Social-Democracy; and opportunism revived on the soil of *Iskrism*, as part of it, in the form of "Menshevism".

Menshevism took shape at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (August 1903), originating from the *minority* of the *Iskrists* (hence the name Menshevism*) and from all the opportunist opponents of *Iskra*. The Mensheviks reverted to Economism in a slightly renovated form, of course; headed by A. Martynov, all the Economists who had remained in the movement flocked to the ranks of the Mensheviks.

The *new Iskra*, which from November 1903 appeared under a new editorial board, became the chief organ of Menshevism. "Between the old *Iskra* and the new lies a gulf", Trotsky, then an ardent Menshevik, frankly declared. *Vperyod* and *Proletary* (1905) were the chief Bolshevik newspapers, which upheld the tactics of consistent Marxism and remained faithful to the old *Iskra*.

From the point of view of real contact with the masses and as an expression of the tactics of the proletarian masses, 1905-07, the years of revolution, were a test of the two main trends in Social-Democracy and in the working-class press—the Menshevik and Bolshevik trends. A legal Social-Democratic press could not have appeared all at once in the autumn of 1905 had the way not been paved by the activities of the advanced workers, who were closely connected with the masses. The fact that the legal Social-Democratic press of 1905, 1906 and 1907 was a press of *two* trends, of two groups, can only be accounted for by the different lines in the working-class movement at the time—the petty-bourgeois and the proletarian.

The workers' legal press appeared in all three periods of the upswing and of relative "freedom", namely, in the autumn of 1905 (the Bolsheviks' *Novaya*

* The Russian word Menshevism is derived from *menshinstvo*, the English for which is minority.—Ed.

Zhizn, and the Mensheviks' *Nachalo*—we name only the chief of the many publications); in the spring of 1906 (*Volna*, *Ekho*, etc., issued by the Bolsheviks, *Narodnaya Duma* and others, issued by the Mensheviks); and in the spring of 1907.

The essence of the Menshevik tactics of the time was recently expressed by L. Martov in these words: "The Mensheviks saw no other way by which the proletariat could take a useful part in that crisis except by assisting the bourgeois liberal democrats in their attempts to eject the reactionary section of the propertied classes from political power—but, while rendering this assistance, the proletariat was to maintain its complete political independence". (*Among Books* by Rubakin, Vol. II, p. 772.) In practice, these tactics of "assisting" the liberals amounted to making the workers *dependent* on them; in practice they were liberal-labour tactics. The Bolsheviks' tactics, on the contrary, ensured the independence of the proletariat in the bourgeois crisis, by fighting to bring that crisis to a head, by exposing the treachery of liberalism, by enlightening and rallying the petty bourgeoisie (especially in the countryside) to counteract that treachery.

It is a fact—and the Mensheviks themselves, including the present-day liquidators, Koltsov, Levitsky, and others, have repeatedly admitted it—that in those years (1905-07) the masses of the workers followed the lead of the Bolsheviks. Bolshevism expressed the proletarian essence of the movement, Menshevism was its opportunist, petty-bourgeois intellectual wing.

We cannot here give a more detailed characterisation of the content and significance of the tactics of the two trends in the workers' press. We can do no more than accurately establish the main facts and define the main lines of historical development.

The working-class press in Russia has almost a century of history behind it; first, the pre-history, i.e., the history, *not* of the labour, *not* of the proletariat, but of the "general democratic", i.e., bourgeois-democratic movement for emancipation, followed by its own twenty-year history of the proletarian movement, proletarian democracy or Social-Democracy.

Nowhere in the world has the proletarian movement come into being, nor could it have come into being, "all at once", in a pure class form, ready-made, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. Only through long struggle and hard work on the part of the most advanced workers, of all class-conscious workers, was it possible to build up and strengthen the class movement of the proletariat, ridding it of all petty-bourgeois admixtures, restrictions, narrowness and distortions. The working class lives side by side with the petty bourgeoisie, which, as it becomes ruined, provides increasing numbers of new recruits to the ranks of the proletariat. And Russia is the most petty-bourgeois, the most philistine of capitalist countries, which only now is passing through the period of bourgeois revolutions which Britain, for example, passed through in the seventeenth century, and France in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The class-conscious workers, who are now tackling a job that is near and

dear to them, that of running the working-class press, putting it on a sound basis and strengthening and developing it, will not forget the twenty-year history of Marxism and the Social-Democratic press in Russia.

A disservice is being done to the workers' movement by those of its weak-nerved friends among the intelligentsia who fight shy of the internal struggle among the Social-Democrats, and who fill the air with cries and calls to have nothing to do with it. They are well-meaning but futile people, and their outcries are futile.

Only by studying the history of Marxism's struggle against opportunism, only by making a thorough and detailed study of the manner in which independent proletarian democracy emerged from the petty-bourgeois hodge-podge can the advanced workers decisively strengthen their own classconsciousness and their workers' press.

Rabochy No. 1,
April 22, 1914

Collected Works, Moscow.
Vol. 20, pp. 245—253

Our Tasks

We have given a brief review of the history of the working-class press in Russia and of the origin of *Pravda*. We have tried to show how the age-long history of democratic movements in Russia led to the formation of an independent working-class democratic movement under the ideological banner of Marxism—and how the twenty years' history of Marxism and the working-class movement in Russia, as a result of the long struggle of the workers' vanguard against petty-bourgeois opportunist trends, led to the rallying of the vast majority of class-conscious workers around *Pravda*, which was created by the famous upsurge of the working-class movement in the spring of 1912.

We have seen how, during the paper's two years, classconscious Pravdist workers united ideologically, and to a certain extent also organisationally, by their efforts creating and supporting, strengthening and developing a consistently Marxist workers' press. Strictly insisting on their continuity with the organised Marxists of the preceding historical epoch, not breaking any of their decisions, building the new on the foundations of the old, and going systematically, unswervingly ahead to the firmly and precisely stated aim of consistent Marxism, the Pravdist workers have begun the solution of an unusually difficult historic task.

A whole host of enemies, a whole mass of difficulties, both external and internal, arose in the way of the labour movement in the 1908-11 epoch. In no country in the world has the working-class movement hitherto succeeded

in emerging from *such* crises while maintaining its continuity, its organised character, its loyalty to the old decisions, programme and tactics.

But the Russian workers—or more exactly the workers of Russia—*succeeded* in this; they succeeded in emerging with flying colours from an incredibly painful crisis, remaining loyal to the past and maintaining continuity of organisation, while mastering *new* forms of training for their forces, *new* methods of education and mobilisation of fresh generations of the proletariat for the solution by old methods of old but still outstanding historic problems.

Of all the classes of Russian society, the working class of Russia alone succeeded in this—not, of course, because it stood higher than the workers of other countries: on the contrary, it is still far behind them in organisation and class-consciousness. It succeeded in this because it *relied* at once on the *experience* of the workers of the whole world, both on their theoretical experience, on the achievements of their class-consciousness, their science and experience summed up by *Marxism* and on the practical experience of the proletarians of neighbouring countries, with their magnificent workers' press and their mass organisations.

The Pravdist workers, having safeguarded *their own* line in the most difficult and painful of periods against persecution from without and against despondency, scepticism, timidity and betrayal within, can now say to themselves, with full awareness and resolution: we know that we are on the right path, but we are taking only the first steps along that path, and the principal difficulties still lie ahead of us, we still have to do a great deal to consolidate our own position completely, and to raise to conscious activity millions of backward, dormant and downtrodden proletarians.

Let the petty-bourgeois "fellow-travellers" of the proletariat, slavishly following the liberals, hold forth contemptuously against "the underground", against "advertising the illegal press"; let them cherish illusions about the June Third "legality". We know the fragile nature of that "legality", we shall not forget the historic lessons of the importance of an illegal press.

Developing further our "Pravdist" work, we shall push ahead with the purely newspaper side hand in hand with *all* sides of the workers' cause.

Put Pravdy must be circulated in three, four and five times as many copies as today. We must put out a trade union supplement, and have representatives of all trade unions and groups on the editorial board. Our paper must have regional (Moscow, Urals, Caucasian, Baltic, Ukrainian) supplements. We must consolidate—despite all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists of all nations without exception—the unity of the workers of *all* the nationalities of Russia, and for this purpose, incidentally, start supplements in our paper devoted to the workers' movement of the various nationalities of Russia.

Both the foreign department of *Put Pravdy* and the chronicle of the *organisational*, ideological and political life of the class-conscious workers should be expanded many times over.

We must create a *kopek Vechernaya Pravda*. *Put Pravdy* in its present

shape is essential for the class-conscious worker and should be still further enlarged, but it is too dear, too difficult, too big for the worker in the street, for the rank-and-filer, for any of the millions not yet drawn into the movement. The advanced worker will never forget about them, for he knows that craft isolation, the emergence of a labour aristocracy and its separation from the masses mean degradation and brutalisation of the proletarian and his transformation into a miserable philistine, a pitiful flunkey; it means loss of all hope of his emancipation.

There is need to start a *kopek Vechernaya Pravda*, with a circulation of 200,000 or 300,000 copies in the very thick of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, showing them the light of the world-wide working-class movement, inspiring them with faith in their strength, impelling them towards unity and helping them to rise to full class-consciousness.

We must secure a much greater degree of organisation on the part of the readers of *Put Pravdy* than there is now, in their various factories, districts, etc., and more active participation in correspondence and running and circulating the paper. We must get the workers to take a regular part in editorial work.

We must have—there is in fact a great deal more that we must have! We cannot list here everything that we need; we would even be ridiculous (and worse) if we attempted here to enumerate all spheres, or even the principal fields of our work!

We know that we are on the right path. We know that we are marching hand in hand with the forward-looking workers of all countries. We know that this field of our work is only a small part of the whole, and that we are still at the beginning of our great road to emancipation. But we also know that nothing on earth can stop us on that road.

Rabochy No. 1, April 22, 1914

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 281—284

In Memory of Herzen

One hundred years have elapsed since Herzen's birth. The whole of liberal Russia is paying homage to him, studiously evading, however, the serious questions of socialism, and taking pains to conceal that which distinguished Herzen the *revolutionary* from a liberal. The Right-wing press, too, is commemorating the Herzen centenary, falsely asserting that in his last years Herzen renounced revolution. And in the orations on Herzen that are made by the liberals and Narodniks abroad, phrase-mongering reigns supreme.

The working-class party should commemorate the Herzen centenary, not for the sake of philistine glorification, but for the purpose of making clear its

own tasks and ascertaining the place actually held in history by this writer who played a great part in paving the way for the Russian revolution.

Herzen belonged to the generation of revolutionaries among the nobility and landlords of the first half of the last century. The nobility gave Russia the Birons and Arakcheyevs, innumerable "drunken officers, bullies, gamblers, heroes of fairs, masters of hounds, roisterers, floggers, pimps", as well as amiable Manilovs. "But", wrote Herzen, "among them developed the men of December 14, a phalanx of heroes reared, like Romulus and Remus, on the milk of a wild beast . . . They were veritable titans, hammered out of pure steel from head to foot, comrades-in-arms who deliberately went to certain death in order to awaken the young generation to a new life and to purify the children born in an environment of tyranny and servility."

Herzen was one of those children. The uprising of the Decembrists awakened and "purified" him. In the feudal Russia of the forties of the nineteenth century, he rose to a height which placed him on a level with the greatest thinkers of his time. He assimilated Hegel's dialectics. He realised that it was "the algebra of revolution". He went further than Hegel, following Feuerbach to materialism. The first of his *Letters on the Study of Nature*, "Empiricism and Idealism", written in 1844, reveals to us a thinker who even now stands head and shoulders above the multitude of modern empiricist natural scientists and the host of present-day idealist and semi-idealist philosophers. Herzen came right up to dialectical materialism, and halted—before historical materialism.

It was this "halt" that caused Herzen's spiritual shipwreck after the defeat of the revolution of 1848. Herzen had left Russia, and observed this revolution at close range. He was at that time a democrat, a revolutionary, a socialist. But his "socialism" was one of the countless forms and varieties of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialism of the period of 1848, which were dealt their death-blow in the June days of that year. In point of fact, it was not socialism at all, but so many sentimental phrases, benevolent visions, which were the expression *at that time* of the revolutionary character of the bourgeois democrats, as well as of the proletariat, which had not yet freed itself from the influence of those democrats.

Herzen's spiritual shipwreck, his deep scepticism and pessimism after 1848, was a shipwreck of the *bourgeois illusions* of socialism. Herzen's spiritual drama was a product and reflection of that epoch in world history when the revolutionary character of the bourgeois democrats was *already* passing away (in Europe), while the revolutionary character of the socialist proletariat had *not yet* matured. This is something the Russian knights of liberal verbiage, who are now covering up their counter-revolutionary nature by florid phrases about Herzen's scepticism, did not and could not understand. With these knights, who betrayed the Russian revolution of 1905, and have even forgotten to think of the great name of *revolutionary*, scepticism is a form of transition from democracy to liberalism, to that toadying, vile, foul and brutal liberalism which

shot down the workers in 1848, restored the shattered thrones and applauded Napoleon III, and which Herzen *cursed*, unable to understand its class nature.

With Herzen, scepticism was a form of transition from the illusion of a bourgeois democracy that is "above classes" to the grim, inexorable and invincible class struggle of the proletariat. The proof: the *Letters to an Old Comrade*—to Bakunin—written by Herzen in 1869, a year before his death. In them Herzen breaks with the anarchist Bakunin. True, Herzen still sees this break as a mere disagreement on tactics and not as a gulf between the world outlook of the proletariat who is confident of the victory of his class and that of the petty bourgeois who has despaired of his salvation. True enough, in these letters as well, Herzen repeats the old bourgeois-democratic phrases to the effect that socialism must preach "a sermon addressed equally to workman and master, to farmer and townsman". Nevertheless, in breaking with Bakunin, Herzen turned his gaze, not to liberalism, but to the *International*—to the International led by Marx, to the International which had begun to "*rally the legions*" of the proletariat, to unite "*the world of labour*", which is "abandoning the world of those who enjoy without working".

Failing as he did to understand the bourgeois-democratic character of the entire movement of 1848 and of all the forms of pre-Marxian socialism, Herzen was still less able to understand the bourgeois nature of the Russian revolution. Herzen is the founder of "Russian" socialism, of "Narodism". He saw "socialism" in the emancipation of the peasants *with land*, in community land tenure and in the peasant idea of "the right to land". He set forth his pet ideas on this subject an untold number of times.

Actually, there is *not a grain* of socialism in this doctrine of Herzen's, as, indeed, in the whole of Russian Narodism, including the faded Narodism of the present-day Socialist-Revolutionaries. Like the various forms of "the socialism of 1848" in the West, this is the same sort of sentimental phrases, of benevolent visions, in which is expressed the *revolutionism* of the bourgeois peasant democracy in Russia. The more land the peasants would have received in 1861 and the less they would have had to pay for it, the more would the power of the feudal landlords have been undermined and the more rapidly, freely and widely would capitalism have developed in Russia. The idea of the "right to land" and of "equalised division of the land" is nothing but a formulation of the revolutionary aspiration for equality cherished by the peasants who are fighting for the complete overthrow of the power of the landlords, for the complete abolition of landlordism.

This was fully proved by the revolution of 1905: on the one hand, the proletariat came out quite independently at the head of the revolutionary struggle, having founded the Social-Democratic Labour Party; on the other hand, the revolutionary peasants (the Trudoviks and the Peasant Union)

fought for every form of the abolition of landlordism even to "the abolition of private landownership", fought precisely as proprietors, as small entrepreneurs.

Today, the controversy over the "socialist nature" of the right to land, and so on, serves only to *obscure* and cover up the really important and serious historical question concerning the difference of *interests* of the liberal bourgeoisie and the revolutionary peasantry in the Russian *bourgeois* revolution; in other words, the question of the liberal and the democratic, the "compromising" (monarchist) and the republican trends manifested in that revolution. This is exactly the question posed by Herzen's *Kolokol*, if we turn our attention to the essence of the matter and not to the words, if we investigate the class struggle as the basis of "theories" and doctrines and not vice versa.

Herzen founded a free Russian press abroad, and that is the great service rendered by him. *Polyarnaya Zvezda* took up the tradition of the Decembrists. *Kolokol* (1857-67) championed the emancipation of the peasants with might and main. The slavish silence was broken.

But Herzen came from a landlord, aristocratic milieu. He had left Russia in 1847; he had not seen the revolutionary people and could have no faith in it. Hence his liberal appeal to the "upper ranks". Hence his innumerable sugary letters in *Kolokol* addressed to Alexander II the Hangman, which today one cannot read without revulsion. Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and Serno-Solovyevich, who represented the new generation of revolutionary *raznochintsi*, were a thousand times right when they reproached Herzen for these departures from democracy to liberalism. However, it must be said in fairness to Herzen that, much as he vacillated between democracy and liberalism, the democrat in him gained the upper hand nonetheless.

When Kavelin, one of the most repulsive exponents of liberal servility—who at one time was enthusiastic about *Kolokol* precisely because of its *liberal* tendencies—rose in arms against a constitution, attacked revolutionary agitation, rose against "violence" and appeals for it, and began to preach tolerance, Herzen *broke* with that liberal sage. Herzen turned upon Kavelin's "meagre, absurd, harmful pamphlet" written "for the private guidance of a government pretending to be liberal"; he denounced Kavelin's "sentimental political maxims" which represented "the Russian people as cattle and the government as an embodiment of intelligence". *Kolokol* printed an article entitled "Epitaph", which lashed out against "professors weaving the rotten cobweb of their superciliously paltry ideas, ex-professors, once open-hearted and subsequently embittered because they saw that the healthy youth could not sympathise with their scrofulous thinking". Kavelin at once recognised himself in this portrait.

When Chernyshevsky was arrested, the vile liberal Kavelin wrote: "I see nothing shocking in the arrests . . . the revolutionary party considers all means fair to overthrow the government, and the latter defends itself by its own means" As if in retort to this Cadet, Herzen wrote concerning Chernyshevsky's trial:

"And here are wretches, weed-like people, jellyfish, who say that we must not reprove the gang of robbers and scoundrels that is governing us."

When the liberal Turgenev wrote a private letter to Alexander II assuring him of his loyalty, and donated two goldpieces for the soldiers wounded during the suppression of the Polish insurrection, *Kolokol* wrote of "the grey-haired Magdalen (of the mesculine gender) who wrote to the tsar to tell him that she knew no sleep because she was tormented by the thought that the tsar was not aware of the repentance that had overcome her". And Turgenev at once recognised himself.

When the whole band of Russian liberals scurried away from Herzen for his defence of Poland, when the whole of "educated society" turned its back on *Kolokol*, Herzen was not dismayed. He went on championing the freedom of Poland and lashing the suppressors, the butchers, the hangmen in the service of Alexander II. Herzen saved the honour of Russian democracy. "We have saved the honour of the Russian name," he wrote to Turgenev, "and for doing so we have suffered at the hands of the slavish majority."

When it was reported that a serf peasant had killed a landlord for an attempt to dishonour the serf's betrothed, Herzen commented in *Kolokol*: "Well done!" When it was reported that army officers would be appointed to supervise the "peaceable" progress of "emancipation", Herzen wrote: "The first wise colonel who with his unit joins the peasants instead of crushing them, will ascend the throne of the Romanovs." When Colonel Reiteren shot himself in Warsaw (1860) because he did not want to be a helper of hangmen, Herzen wrote: "If there is to be any shooting, the ones to be shot should be the generals who give orders to fire upon unarmed people." When fifty peasants were massacred in Bezdna, and their leader, Anton Petrov, was executed (April 12, 1861), Herzen wrote in *Kolokol*:

"If only my words could reach you, toiler and sufferer of the land of Russia! . . . How well I would teach you to despise your spiritual shepherds, placed over you by the St. Petersburg Synod and a German tsar . . . You hate the landlord, you hate the official, you fear them, and rightly so; but you still believe in the tsar and the bishop . . . do not believe them. The tsar is with them, and they are his men. It is him you now see—you, the father of a youth murdered in Bezdna, and you, the son of a father murdered in Penza . . . Your shepherds are as ignorant as you, and as poor . . . Such was another Anthony (not Bishop Anthony, but Anton of Bezdna) who suffered for you in Kazan . . . The dead bodies of your martyrs will not perform forty-eight miracles, and praying to them will not cure a tooth-ache; but their living memory may produce one miracle—your emancipation."

This shows how infamously and vilely Herzen is being slandered by our liberals entrenched in the slavish "legal" press, who magnify Herzen's weak points and say nothing about his strong points. It was not Herzen's fault but his misfortune that he could not see the revolutionary people in Russia itself in the 1840s. When *in the sixties* he came to see the revolutionary people, he

sided fearlessly with the revolutionary democracy against liberalism. He fought for a victory of the people over tsarism, not for a deal between the liberal bourgeoisie and the landlords' tsar. He raised aloft the banner of revolution.

In commemorating Herzen, we clearly see the three generations, the three classes, that were active in the Russian revolution. At first it was nobles and landlords, the Decembrists and Herzen. These revolutionaries formed but a narrow group. They were very far removed from the people. But their effort was not in vain. The Decembrists awakened Herzen. Herzen began the work of revolutionary agitation.

This work was taken up, extended, strengthened, and tempered by the revolutionary *raznochintsi*—from Chernyshevsky to the heroes of *Narodnaya Volya*. The range of fighters widened; their contact with the people became closer. "The young helmsmen of the gathering storm" is what Herzen called them. But it was not yet the storm itself.

The storm is the movement of the masses themselves. The proletariat, the only class that is thoroughly revolutionary, rose at the head of the masses and for the first time aroused millions of peasants to open revolutionary struggle. The first onslaught in this storm took place in 1905. The next is beginning to develop under our very eyes.

In commemorating Herzen, the proletariat is learning from his example to appreciate the great importance of revolutionary theory. It is learning that selfless devotion to the revolution and revolutionary propaganda among the people are not wasted even if long decades divide the sowing from the harvest. It is learning to ascertain the role of the various classes in the Russian and in the international revolution. Enriched by these lessons, the proletariat will fight its way to a free alliance with the socialist workers of all lands, having crushed that loathsome monster, the tsarist monarchy, against which Herzen was the first to raise the great banner of struggle by addressing his *free Russian word* to the masses.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 26,
May 8 (April 25), 1912

Collected Works, Vol. 18, pp. 25—31

On Bolshevism

The origin of Bolshevism is inseparably linked with the struggle of what is known as Economism (opportunism which rejected the political struggle of the working class and denied the latter's leading role) against revolutionary Social-

-Democracy in 1897-1902. Economism, supported by the Bund, was defeated and eliminated by the well-known campaign of the old *Iskra* (Munich, London and Geneva, 1900-03), which restored the Social-Democratic Party (founded in 1898 but later destroyed by arrests) on the basis of Marxism and revolutionary Social-Democratic principles. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (August 1903), the *Iskrists* split: the *majority* stood for the principles and tactics of the old *Iskra*, while the *minority* turned to opportunism, and was backed by the one-time enemies of *Iskra*, The Economists and the Bundists. Hence the terms Bolshevism and Menshevism (Bolsheviks and Mensheviks). In 1903-04 the struggle was mainly over the Mensheviks' opportunism in questions of organisation. From the end of 1904 on, tactical differences became the most important. The "plan for the Zemstvo campaign" put forward (autumn 1904) by the *new Iskra*, which had deserted to the Mensheviks, took up the defence of the tactics of "not intimidating the liberals". The year 1905 saw the tactical differences take final shape (the Bolshevik Congress, Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in London, May 1905, and the Menshevik "conference" held in Geneva at the same time). The Mensheviks strove to adapt working-class tactics to liberalism. The Bolsheviks, however, put forward as the aim of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution: to carry it through to the end and to lead the democratic peasantry despite the treachery of the liberals. The main practical divergencies between the two trends in the autumn of 1905 were over the fact that the Bolsheviks stood for boycotting the Bulygin Duma while the Mensheviks favoured participation. In the spring of 1906, the same thing happened with regard to the Witte Duma. First Duma: the Mensheviks stood for the slogan of a Duma (Cadet) Ministry; the Bolsheviks, for the slogan of a Left (Social-Democratic and Trudovik) Executive Committee that would organise the actual struggle of the masses, etc. This could be set forth in greater detail only in the press abroad. At the Stockholm Congress (1906) the Mensheviks won the upper hand, and at the London Congress (1907), the Bolsheviks. In 1908-09 the *Vperyod* group (Machism in philosophy and otzovism, or boycotting the Third Duma, in politics — Bogdanov, Alexinsky, Lunacharsky and others) broke away from the Bolsheviks. In 1909-11, in fighting against them (cf. V. Ilyin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Moscow, 1909), as well as against the liquidators (Mensheviks who denied the need for an illegal Party), Bolshevism came close to the *pro-Party Mensheviks* (Plekhanov and others), who had declared a resolute war on liquidationism. The Bolshevik organs were: *Vperyod* and *Proletary* (Geneva, 1905), *Novaya Zhizn* (St. Petersburg, 1905), *Volna*, *Ekho*, etc. (St. Petersburg, 1906), *Proletary* in Finland (1906-07), Geneva (1908) and Paris (1909), *Sotsial-Demokrat* in Paris (1909-12). Some of the principal writings of Bolshevism are collected in V. Ilyin's *Twelve Years*, St. Petersburg, 1908, which also gives a more detailed bibliography. The main Bolshevik writers: G. Zinoviev, V. Ilyin, Y. Kamenev, P. Orlovsky and others. In recent years Bolsheviks have been the main contributors to the newspapers *Zvezda* (1910-12), *Pravda*

(1912), St. Petersburg, and to the periodicals *Mysl* (1910), Moscow, and *Prosveshcheniye* (1911-13), St. Petersburg.

Written before January 12 (25), 1913
First published in 1913, in the book:
N. A. Rubakin, *Among Books*,
Vol. II, Second Ed., Moscow

Collected Works, Vol. 18, p. 485—486

On The Tenth Anniversary of *Pravda*

It is ten years since *Pravda*, the legal—legal even under *tsarist* law—Bolshevik daily paper, was founded. This decade was preceded by, approximately, another decade: nine years (1903-12) since the emergence of Bolshevism, or thirteen years (1900-12), if we count from the founding in 1900 of the “Bolshevik-oriented” old *Iskra*.

The tenth anniversary of a Bolshevik daily published in Russia . . . Only ten years have elapsed! But measured in terms of our struggle and movement they are equal to a hundred years. For the pace of social development in the past five years has been positively staggering if we apply the old yardstick of European philistines like the heroes of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals. These civilised philistines are accustomed to regard as “natural” a situation in which hundreds of millions of people (over a thousand million, to be exact) in the colonies and in semi-dependent and poor countries tolerate the treatment meted out to Indians or Chinese, tolerate incredible exploitation, and outright depredation, and hunger, and violence, and humiliation, all in order that “civilised” men might “freely”, “democratically”, according to “parliamentary procedure”, decide whether the booty should be divided up peacefully, or whether ten million or so must be done to death in this division of the imperialist booty, yesterday between Germany and Britain, tomorrow between Japan and the U.S.A. (with France and Britain participating in one form or another).

The basic reason for this tremendous acceleration of world development is that new hundreds of millions of people have been drawn into it. The old bourgeois and imperialist Europe, which was accustomed to look upon itself as the centre of the universe, rotted and burst like a putrid ulcer in the first imperialist holocaust. No matter how the Spenglers and all the enlightened philistines, who are capable of admiring (or even studying) Spengler, may lament it, this decline of the old Europe is but an episode in the history of the downfall of the world bourgeoisie, oversatiated by imperialist rapine and the oppression of the majority of the world's population.

That majority has now awakened and has begun a movement which even

the "mightiest" powers cannot stem. They stand no chance. For the present "victors" in the first imperialist slaughter have not the strength to defeat small—tiny, I might say—Ireland, nor can they emerge victorious from the confusion in currency and finance issues that reigns in their own midst. Meanwhile, India and China are seething. They represent over 700 million people, and together with the neighbouring Asian countries, that are in all ways similar to them, over half of the world's inhabitants. Inexorably and with mounting momentum they are approaching their 1905, with the essential and important difference that in 1905 the revolution in Russia could still proceed (at any rate at the beginning) in isolation, that is, without other countries being immediately drawn in. But the revolutions that are maturing in India and China are being drawn into—have already been drawn into—the revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary movement, the world revolution.

The tenth anniversary of *Pravda*, the legal Bolshevik daily, is a clearly defined marker of this great acceleration of the greatest world revolution. In 1906-07, it seemed that the tsarist government had completely crushed the revolution. A few years later the Bolshevik Party was able—in a different form, by a different method—to penetrate into the very citadel of the enemy and daily, "legally", proceed with its work of undermining the accursed tsarist and land-owner autocracy from within. A few more years passed, and the proletarian revolution, organised by Bolshevism, triumphed.

Some ten or so revolutionaries shared in the founding of the old *Iskra* in 1900, and only about forty attended the birth of Bolshevism at the illegal congresses in Brussels and London in 1903.

In 1912-13, when the legal Bolshevik *Pravda* came into being it had the support of hundreds of thousands of workers, who by their modest contributions were able to overcome both the oppression of tsarism and the competition of the Mensheviks, those petty-bourgeois traitors to socialism.

In November 1917, nine million electors out of a total of thirty-six million voted for the Bolsheviks in the elections to the Constituent Assembly. But if we take the actual struggle, and not merely the elections, at the close of October and in November 1917, the Bolsheviks had the support of the majority of the proletariat and class-conscious peasantry, as represented by the majority of the delegates at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, and by the majority of the most active and politically conscious section of the working people, namely, the twelve-million-strong army of that day.

These few figures illustrating the "acceleration" of the world revolutionary movement in the past twenty years give a very small and very incomplete picture. They afford only a very approximate idea of the history of no more than 150 million people, whereas in these twenty years the revolution has developed into an invincible force in countries with a total population of over a thousand million (the whole of Asia, not to forget South Africa, which recently reminded the world of its claim to *human* and not slavish existence, and by methods which were not altogether "parliamentary").

Some infant Spenglers—I apologise for the expression—may conclude (every variety of nonsense can be expected from the “clever” leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals) that this estimate of the revolutionary forces fails to take into account the European and American proletariat. These “clever” leaders always argue as if the fact that birth comes nine months after conception necessarily means that the exact hour and minute of birth can be defined beforehand, also the position of the infant during delivery, the condition of the mother and the exact degree of pain and danger both will suffer. Very “clever”! These gentry cannot for the life of them understand that from the point of view of the development of the international revolution the transition from Chartism to Henderson’s servility to the bourgeoisie, or the transition from Varlin to Renaudel, from Wilhelm Liebknecht and Bebel to Südekum, Scheidemann and Noske, can only be likened to an automobile passing from a smooth highway stretching for hundreds of miles to a dirty stinking puddle of a few yards in length on that highway.

Men are the makers of history. But the Chartists, the Varlins and the Liebknechts applied their minds and hearts to it. The leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals apply other parts of the anatomy: they fertilise the ground for the appearance of new Chartists, new Varlins and new Liebknechts.

At this *most difficult* moment it would be most harmful for revolutionaries to indulge in self-deception. Though Bolshevism *has become* an international force, though in *all* the civilised and advanced countries new Chartists, new Varlins, new Liebknechts have been born, and are growing up as legal (just as legal as our *Pravda* was under the tsars ten years ago) Communist Parties, nonetheless, for the time being, the international bourgeoisie still remains incomparably stronger than its class enemy. This bourgeoisie, which has done everything in its power to hamper the birth of proletarian power in Russia and to multiply tenfold the dangers and suffering attending its birth, is still in a position to condemn millions and tens of millions to torment and death through its whiteguard and imperialist wars, etc. That is something we must not forget. And we must skilfully adapt our tactics to this specific situation. The bourgeoisie is still able freely to torment, torture and kill. But it cannot halt the inevitable and—from the standpoint of world history—not far distant triumph of the revolutionary proletariat.

May 2, 1922

Pravda No. 98,
May 5, 1922
Signed: N. Lenin

Collected Works, Vol. 33, p. 349—352

Karl Marx

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH WITH AN EXPOSITION OF MARXISM

(Extract)

Marx, Karl, was born on May 5, 1818 (New Style), in the city of Trier (Rhenish Prussia). His father was a lawyer, a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. After graduating from a *Gymnasium* in Trier, Marx entered the university, first at Bonn and later in Berlin, where he read law, majoring in history and philosophy. He concluded his university course in 1841, submitting a doctoral thesis on the philosophy of Epicurus. At the time Marx was a Hegelian idealist in his views. In Berlin, he belonged to the circle of "Left Hegelians" (Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy.

After graduating, Marx moved to Bonn, hoping to become a professor. However, the reactionary policy of the government, which deprived Ludwig Feuerbach of his chair in 1832, refused to allow him to return to the university in 1836, and in 1841 forbade young Professor Bruno Bauer to lecture at Bonn, made Marx abandon the idea of an academic career. Left Hegelian views were making rapid headway in Germany at the time. Ludwig Feuerbach began to criticise theology, particularly after 1836, and turn to materialism, which in 1841 gained the ascendancy in his philosophy (*The Essence of Christianity*). The year 1843 saw the appearance of his *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*. "One must oneself have experienced the liberating effect" of these books, Engels subsequently wrote of these works of Feuerbach. "We [i.e., the Left Hegelians, including Marx] all became at once Feuerbachians." At that time, some radical bourgeois in the Rhineland, who were in touch with the Left Hegelians, founded, in Cologne, an opposition paper called *Rheinische Zeitung* (the first issue appeared on January 1, 1842). Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October 1842 Marx became editor-in-chief and moved from Bonn to Cologne. The newspaper's revolutionary-democratic trend became more and more pronounced under Marx's editorship, and the government first imposed double and triple censorship on the paper, and then on January 1, 1843, decided to suppress it. Marx had to resign the editorship before that date, but his resignation did not save the paper, which suspended publication in March 1843. Of the major articles Marx contributed to *Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels notes... an article on the condition of peasant vinegrowers in the Moselle Valley. Marx's journalistic

activities convinced him that he was insufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he zealously set out to study it.

In 1843, Marx married, at Kreuznach, Jenny von Westphalen, a childhood friend he had become engaged to while still a student. His wife came of a reactionary family of the Prussian nobility, her elder brother being Prussia's Minister of the Interior during a most reactionary period—1850-58. In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical journal abroad together with Arnold Ruge (1802-1880; Left Hegelian; in prison in 1825-30; a political exile following 1848, and a Bismarckian after 1866-70). Only one issue of this journal, *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher*, appeared; publication was discontinued owing to the difficulty of secretly distributing it in Germany, and to disagreement with Ruge. Marx's articles in this journal showed that he was already a revolutionary, who advocated "merciless criticism of everything existing", and in particular the "criticism by weapon", and appealed to the *masses* and to the *proletariat*.

In September 1844 Frederick Engels came to Paris for a few days, and from that time on became Marx's closest friend. They both took a most active part in the then seething life of the revolutionary groups in Paris (of particular importance at the time was Proudhon's doctrine, which Marx pulled to pieces in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847); waging a vigorous struggle against the various doctrines of petty-bourgeois socialism, they worked out the theory and tactics of revolutionary *proletarian socialism*, or communism (Marxism) . . . At the insistent request of the Prussian Government, Marx was banished from Paris in 1845, as a dangerous revolutionary. He went to Brussels. In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League; they took a prominent part in the League's Second Congress (London, November 1847), at whose request they drew up the celebrated *Communist Manifesto*, which appeared in February 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society.

On the outbreak of the Revolution of February 1848, Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris, whence, after the March Revolution, he went to Cologne, Germany, where *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849, with Marx as editor-in-chief. The new theory was splendidly confirmed by the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-49, just as it has been subsequently confirmed by all proletarian and democratic movements in all countries of the world. The victorious counter-revolutionaries first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted on February 9, 1849), and then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). First Marx went to Paris, was again banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, and then went to London, where he lived till his death.

His life as a political exile was a very hard one, as the correspondence between Marx and Engels (published in 1913) clearly reveals. Poverty weighed heavily on Marx and his family; had it not been for Engels's constant and selfless financial aid, Marx would not only have been unable to complete *Capital* but would have inevitably been crushed by want. Moreover, the prevailing doctrines and trends of petty-bourgeois socialism, and of non-proletarian socialism in general, forced Marx to wage a continuous and merciless struggle and sometimes to repel the most savage and monstrous personal attacks (*Herr Vogt*). Marx, who stood aloof from circles of political exiles, developed his materialist theory in a number of historical works . . . devoting himself mainly to a study of political economy. Marx revolutionised this science . . . in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* (Vol. I, 1867).

The revival of the democratic movements in the late fifties and in the sixties recalled Marx to practical activity. In 1864 (September 28) the International Workingmen's Association—the celebrated First International—was founded in London. Marx was the heart and soul of this organisation, and author of its first Address and of a host of resolutions, declarations and manifestos. In uniting the labour movement of various countries, striving to channel into joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade-unionism in Britain, Lassalleian vacillations to the right in Germany, etc.), and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries. Following the downfall of the Paris Commune (1871)—of which Marx gave such a profound, clear-cut, brilliant, *effective* and revolutionary analysis (*The Civil War in France*, 1871)—and the Bakuninist-caused cleavage in the International, the latter organisation could no longer exist in Europe. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872), Marx had the General Council of the International transferred to New York. The First International had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labour movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in *scope*, and *mass* socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed.

Written in July-November 1914
First published in 1915 in the *Granat*
Encyclopaedia, Seventh Edition, Vol. 28,
over the signature of V. Ilyin

Collected Works, Vol. 21, pp. 46—49

From the Economic Life of Russia

(Extract)

Under this general heading we intend to publish from time to time, as the material accumulates, articles and commentaries in which all aspects of Russia's economic life and economic development will be described from the Marxist point of view. Now that *Iskra* has begun to appear fortnightly, the absence of such a section is most keenly felt. However, we must call the most earnest attention of all comrades and sympathisers of our publications to the fact that to conduct this section (at all properly) we need an abundance of material and in this respect our editors find themselves in an exceptionally unfavourable position. The contributor to the legal press cannot even imagine the most elementary obstacles that sometimes frustrate the intentions and endeavours of the "underground" writer. Do not forget, gentlemen, that we cannot use the Imperial National Library, where tens and hundreds of special publications and local newspapers are at the service of the journalist. Material for an economics section at all befitting a "newspaper", i.e., material that is at all brisk, topical, and interesting to both reader and writer, is scattered in small local newspapers and in special publications which are mostly either too expensive or are not at all on sale (government, Zemstvo, medical publications, etc.). That is why it will be possible to run an economics section tolerably well *only if all readers* of the illegal newspaper act in accordance with the proverb: "Many a little makes a mickle." Putting aside all false modesty, the Editorial Board of *Iskra* must admit that in this respect they are very poorly supplied. We are sure that most of our readers are able to read the most various special and local publications, and actually do read them "for themselves". Only when *every* such reader asks himself *each time* he comes across some interesting item: "Is this material available to the editors of our paper? What have I done to acquaint them with this material?"—only then shall we succeed in having all the outstanding developments in Russia's economic life appraised, not only from the standpoint of the official, *Novoye Vremya*, Witte panegyrics, not only for the sake of the traditional liberal-Narodnik complaints, but also from the standpoint of revolutionary Social-Democracy.

Iskra, No. 17, February 15, 1902

Collected Works, Vol. 6, p. 86–87

Letter to the Moscow Committee

(Extract)

Dear Comrades,

We have received your letter expressing your gratitude to the author of *What Is To Be Done?* and informing us of the decision to allocate 20 per cent* to *Iskra*. I thank you heartily for this expression of sympathy and solidarity. It is all the more valuable for an author of illegal publications because of the fact that in his work he is completely cut off from his readers. Each exchange of ideas, each report of the impression any article or pamphlet produces on the various groups of readers is of particular importance to us, and we shall be very grateful, not only for letters dealing with the work in the strict sense of the word, not only for contributions to the press, but also for letters which make the author feel that he is not cut off from the reader.

We published your decision to credit 20 per cent to *Iskra* in No. 22 of *Iskra*. However, we did not venture to publish your thanks to Lenin, since for one thing you mentioned that separately, without saying that you would like to see it in print. And for another, the wording of your message of thanks did not seem suitable for the press. But please do not think we attach no importance to publication of the committees' declarations on their solidarity with certain views. On the contrary, *this is of special importance*, particularly now when all of us are thinking of the unification of revolutionary Social-Democracy. It would be highly desirable for the Moscow Committee to express its solidarity with my book in the form of a *statement*, which would immediately appear in *Iskra*. It is high time that the committees came out with an open announcement of their Party stand, breaking with those tactics of tacit agreement which prevailed in the "third period". This is the general argument in favour of an open declaration. In particular, I, for example, *have been accused in the press* (by the *Borba* group, in its *Listok**) of wanting to turn the Editorial Board of *Iskra* into the Russian Central Committee, of wanting to "order" "agents" about, etc. This is downright distortion of what is said in *What Is To Be Done?*, but I have no desire to keep on reiterating in the press: "you are distorting". Those who should begin to speak up are, I think, the functionaries in Russia, who *know very well* that the "orders" of *Iskra* go no further than advice and an expression of opinion, and who *see* that the *organisational* ideas propounded in *What Is To Be Done?* reflect the vitally urgent and burning question of the *actual* movement. I think that these functionaries

* I.e., of the Moscow Party Committee's fund.—Ed.

* Literally, a one-sheet newspaper.—Ed.

should themselves demand to be heard and loudly declare how *they* regard this question, how their experience in work leads them to agree with our views on the organisational tasks.

We understand, and naturally could understand, your expression of gratitude for *What Is To Be Done?* only in the sense that this book has provided you with answers to *your own questions*, that through *first-hand* acquaintance with the movement you have *yourselves* arrived at the conviction that bolder, more widespread, more *unified*, and more centralised work is needed, more closely consolidated about a single, central newspaper—a conviction which is also set forth in this book. And this being so, once you have really become convinced of this, it is desirable that the committee should say so openly and emphatically, urging the other committees to work together with it in the same direction, following the same “line”, setting itself the same immediate tasks with regard to Party organisation.

We hope, comrades, that you will find it possible to read this letter to a general meeting of the whole committee, and will inform us of your decision on the questions indicated. (In parenthesis, let me add that the St. Petersburg Committee has also sent us an expression of solidarity, and is now considering a similar statement.)

Did you have enough copies of *What Is To Be Done?*? Have the workers read it, and what is their reaction?

Yours,

Lenin

Written on August 11 (24), 1902
Sent from London.
First published in 1922
in P. N. Lepeshinsky's book
At the Turning-Point, Petrograd.

Collected Works, Vol. 6, p. 208—210

To I. V. Babushkin

For Novitskaya from Lenin

Dear friend,

As regards the “examination”, I must say that it is impossible to propose an examination programme from here. Let all the propagandists write about the programme on which they are lecturing or wish to lecture, and I shall answer in detail. You ask for more questions to be put to you. Very well, only mind you answer them all: 1) What are the present Rules of the St. Petersburg

Committee? 2) Is there "discussion"? 3) What is its position in relation to the Central Committee and the Workers' Organisation? 4) The attitude of the C.C. to the district organisation and to the workers' groups? 5) Why did the Iskrist workers tacitly permit Bouncer workers to call themselves a "Workers' Organisation Committee"? 6) Have measures been taken to keep track of every step of the St. Petersburg Zubatov organisation? 7) Are regular lectures read (or talks arranged) in the workers' circles on the subject of organisation, on the significance of an "organisation of revolutionaries"? 8) Is propaganda widely conducted among the *workers* to the effect that it is they who should pass to an illegal position as frequently and extensively as possible? 9) Have measures been taken to ensure ten times as many letters from St. Petersburg, the flow of which has been held up for a disgracefully long time? 10) Is the idea being inculcated among all workers that *it is they* who ought to organise a printing-press for leaflets and the proper distribution of the latter?

There are ten questions for you. I send you warm greetings and await your reply. Mind you disappear at the first sign that you are being spied on.

Written on January 6, 1903
Sent from London to St. Petersburg
First published in 1928
in Lenin Miscellany VIII

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 129—130

To the Kharkov Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.

January 15

(From Lenin.) Dear comrades, many thanks for your detailed letter on the state of affairs; such letters are rarely written to us although we are in very great need of them and ten times as many are essential if we really want to establish a living connection between the editorial board abroad and the local Party workers, and make *Iskra* a full reflection of our working-class movement, both as a whole and as regards particular features of it. We therefore beg you to continue on the same lines, and at least sometimes to give us straight pictures of talks with workers (what do they talk about in the circles? What are their complaints? perplexities? requirements? the subjects of the talks? and so on and so forth).

The plan of your organisation, apparently, is suitable for a rational organisation of revolutionaries, insofar as it is possible to say "rational" when there is such a lack of people, and insofar as we can judge of the plan from a brief account of it.

Give us more details about the independents. Further questions: Are there no workers of the "Ivanovo-Voznesensk" school and tradition left in

Kharkov? Are there any persons who once directly belonged to this Economist and "anti-intellectualist" company or only their successors? Why, don't you write anything about the "leaflet of workers' mutual aid societies", and why don't you send it to us? We here have seen only a handwritten copy of No. 2 of this leaflet. What sort of group is issuing it? Are they out-and-out Economists or merely green youths? Is it a purely working-class organisation or is it under the influence of Economist intellectuals?

Are any traces left of the *Kharkovsky Proletary* group?

Is *Iskra* read in the workers' circles? With explanations of the articles? Which articles are more eagerly read and what kind of explanations are required?

Is propaganda of secrecy methods and transition to an illegal position conducted among the workers on a large scale?

Try to make more use of the St. Petersburg Zubatov organisation and go on sending workers' letters.

Yours,

Lenin

Written on January 15, 1903

Sent from London

First published in *Proletarskaya Revolutsiya*,
No. 3, 1924

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 133-134

To Yelena Stasova

Why don't you reply to No. 16 of *Rabochaya Mysl*, published in Geneva, apparently by Nadezhdin? Are you really going to let this pass too without a protest? What a scandal that leaflet No. 1 of *Rabochaya Mysl* was burned: of course, there were some things in it that needed correcting, and drastically at that. But then why wasn't it done? It's quite incomprehensible what is going on at your end! Why has the printed leaflet on the 200th anniversary of the press been delayed? Send us immediately every leaflet, your own and other people's, workers' and students', all without exception, with a note saying whether they may be quoted and whether they were distributed—two copies of each to two addresses, either simply in envelopes or wrapped up inside a legal newspaper sent by book-post, only with a strong wrapper crosswise.

Why don't you send to *Iskra* the St. Petersburg Committee reports of the money you collect? Be sure to do this. There is great need of workers' letters from St. Petersburg; please do your best to get some, especially about unemployment, and then about the impression created by our literature.

Correct leaflet No. 1 of *Rabochaya Mysl*, rewriting it in a more restrained and more business-like tone, and be sure to publish the story of the split within the Committee. Nadezhdin's *Rabochaya Mysl* cannot, I emphasise, cannot be let off without a public protest.

Written on January 28, 1903
Sent from London to St. Petersburg
First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 127

Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

July 17 (30)-August 10 (23), 1903

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PARTY LITERATURE

The Congress recognises the absolute and urgent necessity for a wide production of popular Social-Democratic literature for all sections of the population, and for the working-class masses in particular.

The Congress considers it necessary in the first place to compile a series of pamphlets (each ranging from one to five signatures in size) dealing with each (theoretical and practical) point of our Party programme and giving a detailed exposition and explanation of that point; and then a number of leaflets (ranging from one to eight printed pages each) on the same subjects to be scattered or distributed in town and country. The Congress instructs the editorial board of the Central Organ to immediately take all steps to fulfil this task.

As regards publication of a special popular newspaper for the people or for the broad sections of the working class, the Congress, though it does not reject this project in principle, considers it untimely at the immediate moment.

Written in June-July 1903
First published in 1927
in *Lenin Miscellany VI*

Collected Works, Vol. 6, p. 472

From the Editorial Board of the Central Organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party

Comrades,

We wish to draw your attention to one of the methods of co-operation between the Central Organ and the press of the various localities, in the matter of agitation. The Central Organ is very often accused of being out of touch

with the movement, being couched in unpopular language, etc., etc. There is of course some truth in these reproaches, and we are fully aware that our work, which is conducted from afar, is inadequate in such an eventful period. However, our isolation is in part due to the infrequent and irregular communications between the Central Organ and the *masses* of local Social-Democrats, and to insufficient co-operation between the two. We quite agree that we are not helping you sufficiently, but then, neither are you giving us enough help. We now want to draw your attention in a comradely way to the elimination of *one* of these shortcomings.

The comrades on the spot do not make sufficient use of the Central Organ for purposes of agitation. The Central Organ arrives late, and the number of copies received is small. It is therefore necessary more frequently: 1) to have articles and items reprinted in local bulletins; 2) more often to adapt or paraphrase in more popular language the slogans (and articles) of the Central Organ, in local bulletins, in doing which you may complement, alter, abridge them, etc., since you, who are on the spot, can see what is best, and all Party publications belong to the Party as a whole; 3) to *quote* the Central Organ in local bulletins more often, so as to familiarise the masses with the title of the Central Organ, with the *idea* of having their own permanent paper, the idea of having their own ideological centre, of always being able to turn to it, etc., etc. You should on all occasions endeavour to indicate in your bulletins that the very same idea was propounded in such and such an article in *Proletary*, or that news to the same effect is contained in such and such of the letters it has published, etc., etc. This is most important for the purpose of familiarising the *masses* with our Central Organ, and widening our entire sphere of influence.

The local committees have often republished articles, selecting whatever appealed to them most. What is particularly important now is to *have uniform slogans* (on the attitude towards the liberals, the *Osvobozhdeniye* League, their "theory of agreement", their draft constitution, etc.; on the question of a revolutionary army and the programme of a revolutionary government; on the boycott of the State Duma, etc., etc.). You should try to make every possible use of the Central Organ in your local agitation, not only by republishing but also by *paraphrasing* its ideas and slogans in your bulletins, *developing* or amending them to conform with the local conditions, etc. This is extremely important for establishing actual co-operation between us, for exchanging opinions, correcting our slogans and acquainting the *masses* of the workers with the fact that we have a permanent Central Organ of the Party.

We earnestly request that this letter be read and discussed in absolutely all organisations and study circles of the Party, down to the very lowest.

The Editorial Board of Proletary

Ivan Vasilyevich Babushkin

AN OBITUARY

We are living in accursed conditions when it is possible for such things as the following to happen: a prominent Party worker, the pride of the Party, a comrade who unselfishly devoted his life to the cause of the working class, disappears without a trace. Even his nearest relatives, like his wife or his mother, his most intimate comrades do not know for years what has become of him: whether he is pining somewhere in penal servitude, whether he is perished in some prison or has died the death of a hero in battle with the enemy. Such was the case with Ivan Vasilyevich, who was shot by Rennenkampf. We learned about his death only quite recently.

The name of Ivan Vasilyevich is near and dear not only to Social-Democrats. All who knew him loved and respected him for his energy, his avoidance of phrase-mongering, his profound and staunch revolutionary spirit and fervent devotion to the cause. A St. Petersburg worker, in 1895 with a group of other class-conscious workers, he was very active in the district beyond the Nevskaya Zastava among the workers of the Semyannikov and Alexandrov factories and the Glass Works, forming circles, organising libraries and studying very hard himself all the time.

All his thoughts were fixed on one thing—how to widen the scope of the work. He took an active part in drawing up the *first agitational leaflet* put out in St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1894, a leaflet addressed to the Semyannikov workers, and he distributed it himself. When the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class was formed in St. Petersburg, Ivan Vasilyevich became one of its most active members and worked in it until he was arrested. The idea of starting a political newspaper abroad to promote the unification and consolidation of the Social-Democratic Party was discussed with him by his old comrades who had worked with him in St. Petersburg, the founders of *Iskra*, and received his warmest support. While Ivan Vasilyevich was at liberty *Iskra* never went short of genuine workers' correspondence. Look through the first twenty issues of *Iskra*, all these letters from Shuya, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Orekhovo-Zuyevo and other places in Central Russia: they nearly all passed through the hands of Ivan Vasilyevich, who made every effort to establish the closest contact between *Iskra* and the workers. Ivan Vasilyevich was *Iskra's* most assiduous correspondent and its ardent supporter. From the central region Babushkin made his way to the south, where he was arrested in Ekaterinoslav and imprisoned in Alexandrovsk. From Alexandrovsk he escaped with another comrade by sawing through the window-bars of his cell. Without knowing a single foreign language he made his way to London,

where the *Iskra* editorial office was at the time. A lot of things were talked over there, a lot of questions were discussed with him. But Ivan Vasilyevich did not get the chance to attend the Second Party Congress . . . imprisonment and exile put him out of active service for a long time. The revolutionary wave that arose brought new functionaries, new Party leaders to the fore, but Babushkin at this time was living in the Far North, in Verkhoyansk, cut off from Party life. But the time was not wasted for him, he studied, he equipped himself for the struggle, he was active among the workers who were his comrades in exile, trying to make them class-conscious Social-Democrats and Bolsheviks. In 1905 came the amnesty and Babushkin set out for Russia. But Siberia too was seething with struggle and people like Babushkin were needed there. He joined the Irkutsk Committee and plunged headlong into the work. He had to speak at meetings, carry on Social-Democratic agitation and organise an uprising. While Babushkin and five other comrades—whose names we have not learned—were taking a large consignment of arms from Chita in a separate railway car the train was held up by one of Rennenkampf's punitive expeditions and all six, without the slightest pretence of a trial were lined up on the edge of a common grave hastily dug on the spot and shot. They died like heroes. The story of their death was told by soldiers who saw it and railwaymen who were in the same train. Babushkin fell a victim to the bestial savagery of the tsarist myrmidon but, in dying, he knew that the cause to which he had devoted his life would not die, that it would be continued by tens, hundreds of thousands, millions of other hands, that other working-class comrades would die for the same cause, that they would fight until they were victorious . . .

Some people have concocted and are spreading a fairy-tale to the effect that the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is a party of "intellectuals", that the workers are isolated from it, that the workers in Russia are Social-Democrats without a Social-Democratic party, that this was the case particularly before the revolution and, to a considerable extent, during the revolution. The liberals are spreading this lie out of hatred for the revolutionary mass struggle which the R.S.D.L.P. led in 1905, and some socialists have been repeating this lying theory either out of ignorance or irresponsibility. The life history of Ivan Vasilyevich Babushkin, the ten years' Social-Democratic activity of this *worker-Iskrist* is a striking refutation of this liberal lie. I. V. Babushkin is one of those working-class militants who 10 years before the revolution began to create the *workers'* Social-Democratic Party. Had it not been for the tireless, heroically persistent work of *such* militants among the proletarian masses the R.S.D.L.P. could not have existed ten months let alone ten years. Thanks only to the activities of *such* militants, thanks only to their support, the R.S.D.L.P. developed by 1905 into a Party which *became inseparably fused* with the proletariat in the great days of October and December,

which maintained this connection in the person of the *workers' deputies* not only in the Second, but even in the Third, Black-Hundred Duma.

■ The liberals (Cadets) want to make a national hero out of the late S. A. Muromtsev who was the Chairman of the First Duma. We, the Social-Democrats, must not let the opportunity slip of expressing our contempt and hatred of the tsarist government, which persecuted even such moderate and inoffensive officials as Muromtsev. Muromtsev was only a liberal official. He was not even a democrat. He was afraid of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. He expected the liberation of Russia to come not from this struggle, but from the good will of the tsarist autocracy, from an *agreement* with this malicious and ruthless enemy of the Russian people. It is ridiculous to regard such people as national heroes of the Russian revolution.

But there are such national heroes. They are people like Babushkin. They are people who, not for a year or two but for a whole decade before the revolution, whole-heartedly devoted themselves to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. They are people who did not dissipate their energies on the futile terrorist acts of individuals, but who worked persistently and unswervingly among the proletarian masses, helping to develop *their* consciousness, *their* organisation and *their* revolutionary initiative. They are people who stood at the head of the armed mass struggle against the tsarist autocracy when the crisis began, when the revolution broke out and when millions and millions were stirred into action. Everything won from the tsarist autocracy was won *exclusively* by the struggle of the masses led by such people as Babushkin.

Without such men the Russian people would remain for ever a people of slaves and serfs. With such men the Russian people will win complete emancipation from all exploitation.

The fifth anniversary of the December uprising of 1905 has already passed. Let us honour this anniversary by remembering the militant workers who fell in the fight against the enemy. We request our worker comrades to collect and send us reminiscences of the struggle of that period and additional information about Babushkin and also about other Social-Democratic workers who fell in the uprising of 1905. We intend to publish a pamphlet on the lives of such workers. Such a pamphlet will be the best answer to all sceptics and disparagers of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Such a pamphlet will be excellent reading matter for young workers, who will learn from it how every class-conscious worker should live and act.

The Results of Six Months' Work

By founding a workers' daily newspaper, the workers of St. Petersburg have accomplished a major feat, one that without exaggeration can be called historic. The workers' democratic movement has rallied together and consolidated itself in incredibly difficult conditions. Of course, it is not possible to talk of the *stability* of the workers' democratic press in our country. Everyone knows very well the persecution to which working-class newspapers are subjected.

For all that, the founding of *Pravda* is an outstanding proof of the political consciousness, energy and unity of the Russian workers.

It is useful to look back and note some results of the six months' work of the Russian workers for founding a press of *their own*. Since January of this year the interest shown by working-class circles of St. Petersburg in their press has become fully evident and a number of articles dealing with a workers' daily has appeared in newspapers of all shades that come into contact with the world of labour.

I

Data on *who* founded a daily working-class press in Russia and *how* it was founded are, fortunately, available in a comparatively full form. They are the data on the *collection of funds* for a workers' daily newspaper.

Let us begin with the funds with which *Pravda* was brought into being. We have the accounts of *Zvezda*, *Nevskaya Zvezda* and *Pravda* for the period from January 1 to June 30, or exactly six months. Publicity ensured the absolute accuracy of the accounts, accidental errors being corrected immediately on indications from those concerned.

What is of the greatest importance and interest to us is not the sum total of the funds collected, but the *composition of the givers*. When, for example, *Nevskaya Zvezda* No. 3 gave the total contributions for a workers' daily newspaper as 4,288 rubles 84 kopeks (from January to May 5, exclusive of the donations which from April 22, the day when *Pravda* first appeared, came directly to that newspaper), we were at once prompted to ask: what was the role which the workers themselves and groups of workers played in collecting this sum? Does it consist of large donations by sympathisers? Or did the workers themselves show in this case a personal and active concern for the working-class press and make up a large sum out of donations from a *large* number of workers' groups?

From the point of view of the initiative and energy of the workers *themselves*, it is much more important to have 100 rubles collected by, say, 30 groups of workers than 1,000 rubles collected by some dozens of "sympathisers". A newspaper founded on the basis of *five-kopek pieces* collected by small factory

circles of workers is a far more dependable, solid and *serious* undertaking (both financially and, *most important of all*, from the standpoint of the development of the workers' democratic movement) than a newspaper founded with tens and hundreds of rubles contributed by sympathising intellectuals.

To obtain exact data on this fundamental and most important matter, we have performed the following operation with regard to the figures on collections published in the three newspapers mentioned. We have singled out *only* the donations stated to have been made by *groups* of factory or office workers.

What we are interested in at the moment is the contributions made by the workers *themselves*—moreover, not by individual ones, who may have come across a collector by chance, not being linked with him ideologically, i.e., in terms of their views and convictions; we mean *groups* of workers, who must no doubt have *discussed* beforehand whether they should donate any money, *whom* they should give it to and for what purpose.

Each report by *Zvezda*, *Nevskaya Zvezda* or *Pravda* which indicated that the money contributed for a workers' daily came from a *group* of factory or office workers, we assumed to be a *group contribution* by the workers themselves.

How many such group contributions by workers were there in the first half of 1912?

Five hundred and four group contributions!

More than five hundred times, groups of workers made contributions for the founding and maintenance of *their* paper, either donating what they had earned in one day, or making a single contribution, or contributing repeatedly from time to time. In addition to individual workers and sympathisers, *504 groups of workers* took a most active part in founding their newspaper. This figure is an unquestionable indication that a deep and conscious interest in a workers' newspaper has been aroused among the *mass* of the workers—and not just in any workers' paper, but in a workers' democratic paper. Since the masses are so politically conscious and active, no difficulties or obstacles can frighten us. There are not, and cannot be, difficulties or obstacles which the political consciousness, activity and interest of the mass of the workers would be unable to overcome in some way or another.

Those 504 group contributions break down by months as follows:

January 1912	14
February 1912	18
March 1912	76
April 1912	227
May 1912	135
June 1912	34
<i>Six-month total</i>	<i>504</i>

This little table makes clear, incidentally, the great importance of April and May as a *period of radical change*. From darkness to light, from passivity to activity, from action by individuals to action by the masses.

In January and February group contributions by the workers were as yet quite insignificant. Obviously, the activity was only just beginning. March showed a noticeable and substantial rise. Seventy-six group contributions by workers in one month—this indicates at all events a serious movement among the workers, a tenacious effort by the masses to have their way at all costs, undeterred by having to make donations. This speaks of the workers' deep confidence in their own strength and in the undertaking as a whole, in the trend of the projected newspaper, and so on. In March there was as yet no workers' daily, which means that groups of workers were collecting money and giving it to *Zvezda*, as it were, on credit.

April brought an enormous leap that decided the matter. Two hundred and twenty-seven group contributions by workers in one month, an average of over seven contributions a day! The dam had been broken, and the founding of a workers' daily paper was assured. Every group contribution means not merely the sum of five-kopek and ten-kopek pieces, but something far more important—the sum of combined, massed energy, the determination of groups to support a workers' newspaper, to disseminate and guide it, to bring it into being through their own participation.

The question may arise: were not the April contributions greatest after the 22nd, i.e., after *Pravda* had appeared? No, they were not. Before April 22, *Zvezda* reported 188 group contributions. Between the 22nd and the end of April, *Pravda* reported 39 group contributions. This means that during 21 days of April, before *Pravda* had appeared, there was an average of nine contributions a day, while the last nine days of April saw only four contributions a day by groups.

Two important conclusions follow from this:

Firstly, the workers were particularly active before the appearance of *Pravda*. By giving money "on credit", showing their confidence in *Zvezda*, the workers expressed their determination to have their way.

Secondly, it is seen that it was the April effort of the workers that brought the workers' newspaper, *Pravda*, into being. There can be no doubt as to the closest connection between the general upswing of the working-class movement (not in a narrow guild, narrow trade union sense, but with a scope affecting all the people) and the founding of the daily newspaper of the St. Petersburg worker democrats. We need something more than trade union publications, we need a political newspaper of our own—this is what the masses realised more and more in April; what we need is not just any political workers' newspaper, but a newspaper of the foremost worker democrats; we need a newspaper not only to promote our working-class struggle, but also to provide a model and a beacon for the whole people.

In May the upswing was still very marked. Group contributions averaged more than four a day. On the one hand, it was an indication of the general upswing in April-May. On the other, the mass of the workers realised that, although the publication of a daily newspaper had already begun, its position would be particularly difficult at first and group support particularly necessary.

In June the number of group contributions fell below the March figure. Of course, the fact has to be taken into consideration that *after* the workers' daily newspaper had begun to appear *another* form of assistance to the newspaper arose and acquired decisive significance, namely, subscription to it and its circulation among fellow-workers, acquaintances, countrymen, etc. The politically-conscious friends of *Pravda* do not limit themselves to subscribing to the paper but pass it on or send it to others as a sample, to make it known at other factories, in neighbouring flats or houses, in the countryside and so on. Unfortunately, we have no way of obtaining complete statistics on *this kind* of group assistance.

II

It will be most instructive to see how those 504 contributions by groups of workers are distributed among *towns* and factory localities. In what parts of Russia and how readily did the workers respond to the appeal to help in founding a workers' daily newspaper?

Fortunately, data on this are available for all of the workers' group contributions reported by *Zvezda*, *Nevskaya Zvezda* and *Pravda*.

In summing up these data, we must first of all single out St. Petersburg, which naturally has taken the lead in the matter of founding a workers' newspaper, then fourteen towns and factory localities which sent in contributions *from more than one* group of workers, and lastly, all the other towns, thirty-five in all, which sent in only one group contribution each during the six months. This is the picture we obtain:

	Total of group contributions
St. Petersburg	421
14 towns with 2 to 12 group contributions each	57
35 towns with 1 group contribution each	35
<i>Total for 50 towns</i>	<i>504</i>

This shows that *almost the whole of* Russia took an active part, to some extent or another, in founding a workers' daily. Considering the difficulties which the circulation of the workers' democratic press encounters in the provinces, it is amazing that *so large a number* of towns should have responded within six months to the appeal of the St. Petersburg workers.

Ninety-two group contributions by workers in forty-nine towns of Russia,*

* Here is a complete list of the towns and localities: **Vicinity of St. Petersburg:** Kronstadt, Kolpino and Sestroretsk. **South:** Kharkov, 4 group contributions; Yekaterinoslav, 8; Ananyev, 2; Lugansk, 3; Kherson, Rostov-on-Don, Pavlograd, Poltava; Kiev, 12; Astrakhan, 4; Chernigov; Yuzovka, 3; Minakovo, Shcherba Mine, Rykov Mine, Belgorod, Yelisavetgrad, Yekaterinodar; Mariupol, 2; Nizhne-Dneprovsk and Nakhichevan. **Moscow area:** Rodniki, 2; Ryazan; Tula, 2; Bezhetsk, 2. **North:** Archangel, 5; Vologda. **West:** Dvinsk, Vilna, Gornel, Riga, Lepaya and Muhlgraben. **Urals:** Perm, Kyshtym, Miynar and Orenburg. **Volga region:** Sormovo and Balakovo Village. **Caucasus:** Baku, 2; Grozny and Tiflis. **Siberia:** Tyumen and Blagoveshchensk. **Finland:** Helsingfors.

besides the capital, is a very impressive figure, at least for a beginning. There can be no question here of chance, indifferent, passive givers; these are undoubtedly representatives of the proletarian masses, people united by conscious sympathy for the workers' democratic movement although scattered throughout Russia.

We note that the list of provincial towns is headed by Kiev with 12 group contributions, then comes Yekaterinoslav with 8, while Moscow with 6 is only in the fourth place. This lag of Moscow and its entire area can be seen still more clearly from the following summary data on all the areas of Russia:

Number of group contributions by workers for a workers' daily newspaper during six months—January to June 1912

St. Petersburg and vicinity	415
South	51
Moscow and its area	13
North and West	12
Urals and Volga region	6
Caucasus, Siberia and Finland	7
<hr/> Total for Russia	504

These data may be interpreted as follows:

In terms of renewed activity of the worker democrats in Russia, proletarian St. Petersburg has already awakened and is at its glorious post. The South is awakening. Mother Moscow, however, and the rest of Russia are still asleep. It is time she awoke too.

The lag of the entire Moscow area becomes obvious when that area is compared with the other *provincial* areas. The South is farther from St. Petersburg, much farther away than Moscow. Nevertheless, the South, which has *fewer* industrial workers than the Moscow area, exceeds that area *almost fourfold* in the number of group contributions by workers.

Moscow seems to be lagging behind even the Urals and the Volga region, for the number of workers in Moscow and its area exceeds their number in the Urals and the Volga region not twice, but many times over. Yet Moscow and its area made only 13 group contributions against 6 in the Urals and the Volga region.

There are probably two special reasons for the lag of Moscow and its area. Firstly, the dominant industry here is the textile industry, in which the economic situation, i.e., market conditions and conditions for a more or less considerable increase in production, has been worse than, say, in metallurgy. That is why textile workers participated less in strikes and showed less interest in politics and in the workers' democratic movement. Secondly, in the Moscow area there are more factories scattered over out-of-the-way localities and therefore less accessible to newspapers than in the big city.

In any case, we must undoubtedly draw a lesson from the data cited above. The closest attention must be paid to the circulation of the workers' newspaper

in Moscow. We cannot put up with the lag of Moscow. Every politically-conscious worker realises that St. Petersburg without Moscow is like one hand without the other.

The *bulk* of Russia's factory workers is concentrated in Moscow and its area. In 1905, for instance, according to government statistics, there were 567,000 factory workers here, i.e., *more than one-third* of Russia's total (1,660,000), and many more than in the St. Petersburg area (298,000). The Moscow area is therefore destined to take the *first* place for the number of readers and friends of a workers' newspaper, for the number of politically-conscious representatives of the workers' democratic movement. Moscow will, of course, have to have a workers' daily newspaper *of its own*.

Meanwhile St. Petersburg must help it. Every morning the readers of *Pravda* should tell themselves and their friends: "Workers, remember the Muscovites!"

III

The above data should draw our attention from yet another standpoint, one that is very important and urgent as regards our practical tasks. Everyone realises that a political newspaper is one of the basic conditions for the participation of any class of modern society in the political affairs of the country in general and in an election campaign in particular.

Thus, a newspaper is required by the workers in general, and for carrying out elections to the Fourth Duma in particular. The workers know very well that they can expect no good either from the Third or from the Fourth Duma. But we must take part in the elections, firstly, to rally and politically enlighten the mass of the workers during the elections, when party struggles and the entire political life will be stimulated and when the *masses* will *learn politics* in one way or other; and, secondly, to get our worker deputies into the Duma. Even in the most reactionary Duma, in a purely landlord one, worker deputies *have done*, and can do, a great deal for the working-class cause, provided they are true worker democrats, provided they are connected with the masses and the masses learn to direct them and check on their activity.

In the first half of 1912 *all* the political parties in Russia began, and virtually *completed*, what is known as the pre-election *mobilisation* of the party forces. Mobilisation is a military term. It means putting the army in a state of readiness for action: Just as an army is put in a state of readiness before a war, the reserves being called up and arms and ammunition distributed, so, before an election, all parties sum up their work, reaffirm their decisions on party views and slogans, rally their forces and prepare to fight all the other parties.

This work, we repeat, is virtually completed. The elections are only *a few weeks* off. During this time we can and must bend our energies to increase our

influence on the voters, on the masses, but if a party (the party of any class) has not got ready in six months, nothing can help it any longer, for it is already a *zero* in the elections.

That is why the six months which our statistics cover are six months of *decisive* mobilisation of the workers' forces prior to the Fourth Duma elections. They have been six months of mobilisation of all the forces of the worker democrats—of course, not only with regard to the Duma campaign, but we are for the moment devoting our attention to the latter.

A question arises at this point, a question raised recently by *Nevskaya Zvezda* No. 16, and *Pravda* No. 61. It concerns the so-called liquidators, who since January 1912 have been publishing the newspapers *Zhivoye Dyelo* and *Nevsky Golos* in St. Petersburg. The liquidators, who have their own separate newspapers, say that "agreement" has to be reached with them, the liquidators, if there is to be "unity" of the worker democrats in the elections, otherwise they try to frighten us with the prospect of "duplicate candidates".

It seems that these attempts at intimidation have so far had very little success.

And this is quite understandable. How could anyone seriously take into account people who have rightly earned the name of liquidators and advocates of a liberal labour policy?

But perhaps there are, nevertheless, many workers who follow the erroneous, un-Social-Democratic views of this group of intellectuals? If so, ought we not to pay special attention to these workers? We now have objective, open and quite precise data for an answer to this question. As we know, throughout the first half of 1912 the liquidators showed particular vigour in attacking *Pravda*, *Nevskaya Zvezda*, *Zvezda*, and all opponents of liquidationism in general.

How successful were the liquidators among the workers? We can judge this from the contributions for a workers' daily newspaper published in the liquidationist newspapers *Zhivoye Dyelo* and *Nevsky Golos*. The liquidators recognised the need for a daily very long ago—in 1911 or perhaps even 1910—and advocated the idea most energetically among their supporters. In February 1912 *Zhivoye Dyelo*, which was first issued on January 20, began to carry reports on the contributions it received for this purpose.

Let us single out from those contributions (which totalled 139.27 rubles in the first half of 1912) *group contributions by workers*, just as we did in the case of the non-liquidationist papers. Let us sum up all the sixteen issues of *Zhivoye Dyelo* and the five issues of *Nevsky Golos* (its issue No. 6 appeared in July), and even add contributions for the benefit of *Zhivoye Dyelo* itself (although we did not take data on such contributions from the non-liquidationist papers). We obtain the following data on the total of group contributions by workers in six months:

Number of group contributions by workers for a workers' daily newspaper during the first half of 1912

	Non-liquidationist newspapers	Liquidationist newspapers
January	14	0
February	18	0
March	76	7
April	227	8
May	135	0
June	34	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>504</i>	<i>15</i>

And so, by dint of frantic effort, the group of liquidationist intellectuals succeeded in enlisting the support of *15 groups of workers in all!*

Could one imagine a more shattering defeat of the liquidators since January 1912? Could one imagine a more specific proof of the fact that we are in the presence of a group of liquidationist intellectuals who are capable of publishing a semi-liberal magazine and newspaper, but totally lack any serious support among the proletarian masses?

Here, in addition, are data on the territorial distribution of the donations sent to the liquidators by groups of workers:

Number of group contributions by workers for a workers' daily newspaper during the first half of 1912

St. Petersburg and vicinity	415	10
South	51	1
Moscow and its area	13	2
North and West	12	1
Urals and Volga region	6	0
Caucasus, Siberia and Finland	7	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>504</i>	<i>15*</i>

And so, the liquidators' defeat in the South during the six-month period is even worse than in St. Petersburg.

These exact workers' statistics, which were published openly for as long as six months in newspapers of opposed trends, definitely settle the question of "liquidationism". One may revile the opponents of liquidationism and slander them as much as one pleases, but these exact data on group contributions by workers are irrefutable.

It is quite understandable now why neither *Nevskaya Zvezda* nor *Pravda* took the liquidators' threat of "duplicate candidates" seriously. It would be ridiculous to take seriously threats from people who in six months of open struggle revealed that they amount to little more than zero. All the defenders

* Moscow, 2; Nakhichevan, Novonikolayevsk and Archangel, 1 each.

of liquidationism have united in *Zhivoye Dyelo* and *Newsy Golos*. And it took all of them together six months to win over fifteen groups of workers!

Liquidationism amounts to nil in the working-class movement; it is only strong among the liberal intelligentsia.

IV

The data in *Pravda* on all kinds of workers' contributions are, generally speaking, extremely interesting. They provide us, for the first time, with highly accurate data on the most diverse aspects of the working-class movement and the life of Russian worker democrats. We hope to return to the analysis of these data more than once.

At the moment, however, before we finish our survey of data on the contributions made by groups of workers for a daily newspaper, we must point out one practical conclusion.

Workers' groups made 504 contributions to *their* press, to *Zvezda* and *Pravda*. The workers had absolutely no other aim in view except the founding and maintenance of their workers' press. That is precisely why a simple truthful summary of these data for six months provides a most valuable picture of the life of worker democrats in Russia. The five- and ten-kopek pieces collected and marked "from a group of workers of such-and-such a factory" have made it possible also to appraise the workers' sentiments, their class-consciousness, their unity, and their readiness to promote the working-class cause.

That is why this custom of group collections by the workers, brought into being by the upswing in April and May, should by all means be continued, developed and expanded, and it goes without saying that accounts of the collections are necessary too, such as have always been published in *Pravda*.

This custom is of vast importance from the standpoint of both the stability of the working-class press and the common interests of the worker democrats.

The working-class press needs to be developed and strengthened. And this requires money. Workers' newspapers in Russia can be satisfactorily organised through persevering effort only on condition that the workers constantly arrange massive collections. There is a workers' paper in America (*Appeal to Reason*) which has *over half a million* subscribers. That Russian worker, we would say, paraphrasing a well-known saying, is a poor worker indeed if he does not hope to overtake and surpass his American fellow-workers.

What is very much more important, however, is not the financial aspect of the matter, but something else. Let us assume that a hundred workers in different shops of a factory contribute *one kopek* each on pay-day to the workers' newspaper. That will add up to two rubles a month. Let us assume, on the other hand, that ten well-paid workers meeting by chance collect ten rubles at once.

The former two rubles are worth more than the latter ten. This is so obvious to any worker that it does not have to be explained at length.

It should be made a custom for *every* worker to contribute *one kopek* to the workers' newspaper *every* pay-day. Let subscriptions to the paper be taken as usual, and let those who can contribute more do so, as they have done in the past. It is very important, besides, to establish and spread the custom of "*a kopek for the workers' newspaper*".

The significance of such collections will depend above all on their being regularly held every pay-day, without interruption, and on an ever greater number of workers taking part in these regular collections. Accounts could be published in a simple form: "so-and-so many kopeks" would imply that so many workers at the given factory had contributed to the workers' paper, and if there were any larger contributions, they could be stated as follows: "In addition, so-and-so many workers contributed so-and-so much."

If this custom of *a kopek for the workers' newspaper* becomes established, the workers of Russia will soon raise their papers to the proper standard. Workers' papers should give more information, and of a more varied nature; they should have Sunday supplements and so on, and should have their correspondents in the Duma, in all Russia's towns and in the major cities abroad. The workers' newspaper should develop and improve *steadily*, which cannot be done unless the greatest possible number of workers regularly collect money for their press.

Monthly reports on the *workers' kopek* will show everyone how the workers throughout Russia are shaking off their indifference and drowsiness, how they are awakening to an intelligent and cultured life—not in the official nor in the liberal sense of the term. It will be possible to see clearly how interest in the workers' democratic movement is growing, and how the time is drawing near when Moscow and the other big cities will have workers' papers of their own.

We have had enough of the domination of the bourgeois *Kopeika!* That unscrupulous, huckster-minded newspaper has reigned long enough. In a matter of six months, the workers of St. Petersburg have shown how tremendously successful joint collections by the workers can be. May their example and their initiative not be in vain. May the custom of *a workers' kopek for the workers' newspaper* develop and gain strength!

Written on July 12-14 (25-27), 1912

Collected Works, Vol. 18, pp. 187—202

Published in *Pravda* Nos. 78, 79, 80, 81,
July 29 and 31, and August 1 and 2, 1912

Signed: A Statistician

Before and Now

Eighteen years ago, in 1894, the working-class movement in St. Petersburg was just being born in its modern, mass form illumined by the light of the Marxist teaching.

The seventies had affected a quite insignificant top section of the working class. The foremost representatives of the working class revealed themselves even then as great leaders of the workers' democratic movement, but the masses were still slumbering. Only in the early nineties did *they* begin to awaken, and at the same time there began a new and more glorious period in the history of the entire democratic movement in Russia.

Unfortunately, we must confine ourselves here, in our small parallel, to one aspect of one manifestation of the working-class movement, namely, the economic struggle and economic "exposures".

At that time, in 1894, a very few circles of the foremost workers were heatedly discussing plans for organising factory exposures. A weighty statement by the workers themselves, addressed to their fellow-workers and pointing out the more glaring abuses of power by capital, was an exceedingly rare occurrence at the time. Speaking of such things publicly was out of the question.

But the awakening mass of the workers was able to take up the factory exposures addressed to it, despite all difficulties and in the face of all obstacles. The strike movement was growing, and the *connection* between the economic struggle of the working class and other, higher forms of struggle was developing irresistibly. The vanguard of Russia's democratic movement was awakening, and *ten* years later it showed itself in its full stature. It is to this force alone that Russia owes the rupture of the old shell.

Those who recall the first factory exposures which the advanced workers of St. Petersburg addressed to the masses in 1894 will find it most interesting and instructive to compare them with the factory exposures made by *Pravda*. This little comparison of one manifestation of the workers' struggle clearly shows the growth of its *entire* scope, its breadth and depth, its strength, etc.

At that time there were a mere five or six factory exposures, secretly circulated by workers in several dozen copies.

Today there are tens of thousands of copies of the daily *Pravda*, each making several exposures relating to the most diverse fields of labour.

At that time there were a mere five or six so-called "circles", which discussed—in secret, of course—the state of affairs in the factories, with some Marxist intellectual or other participating, and decided on the subject of the points to be "published".

Today there are hundreds and thousands of workers' groups springing up spontaneously, discussing their vital needs and taking their letters, their exposures, their appeals for resistance and unity, to *Pravda* of their own accord.

In a matter of eighteen years, the workers have advanced from the first signs of activity, from a most timid beginning, to a movement that is a *mass* movement in the most exact sense of the term.

We must unfortunately limit ourselves *only* to parallels of factory exposures. But they, too, show the great path travelled, and the goal to which this path leads.

Eighteen years are a short span in the history of a whole class which is destined to accomplish the greatest task in the world—the emancipation of mankind.

The greater part of this path has been travelled in the dark. But now the road has been reached. Forward with courage and determination!

Pravda No. 104, August 30, 1912

Collected Works, Vol. 18, pp. 302–303

The Journal *Svoboda*

Svoboda is a worthless little rag. Its author—indeed, this is precisely the impression it creates, that one person has written it all, from beginning to end—claims to write popularly “for the workers”. But what we have here is not popularisation, but talking down in the worst sense of the term. There is not one simple word, everything is twisted . . . The author cannot write a single phrase without embellishments, without “popular” similes and “popular” catchwords such as “theirs”. Outworn socialist ideas are chewed over in this ugly language without any new data, any new examples, any new analysis, and the whole thing is deliberately vulgarised. Popularisation, we should like to inform the author, is a long way from vulgarisation, from talking down. The popular writer leads his reader towards profound thoughts, towards profound study, proceeding from simple and generally known facts; with the aid of simple arguments or striking examples he shows the main *conclusions* to be drawn from those facts and arouses in the mind of the thinking reader ever newer questions. The popular writer does not presuppose a reader that does not think, that cannot or does not wish to think: on the contrary, he assumes in the undeveloped reader a serious intention to use his head and *aids* him in his serious and difficult work, leads him, helps him over his first steps, and *teaches* him to go forward independently. The vulgar writer assumes that his reader does not think and is incapable of thinking; he does not lead him in his first steps towards serious knowledge, but in a distortedly simplified form, interlarded with jokes and facetiousness, hands out “ready-made” *all* the conclusions of a known theory, so that the reader does not even have to chew but merely to swallow what he is given.

Written in the autumn of 1901
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Collected Works, Vol. 5, pp. 311–312

Section II

FUNCTIONS AND TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

Our Immediate Task

The Russian working-class movement is today going through a period of transition. The splendid beginning achieved by the Social-Democratic workers' organisations in the Western area, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and other cities was consummated by the formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (spring 1898). Russian Social-Democracy seems to have exhausted, for the time being, all its strength in making this tremendous step forward and has gone back to the former isolated functioning of separate local organisations. The Party has not ceased to exist, it has only withdrawn into itself in order to gather strength and put the unification of all Russian Social-Democrats on a sound footing. To effect this unification, to evolve a suitable form for it and to get rid completely of narrow local isolation—such is the immediate and most urgent task of the Russian Social-Democrats.

We are all agreed that our task is that of the organisation of the proletarian class struggle. But what is this class struggle? When the workers of a single factory or of a single branch of industry engage in struggle against their employer or employers, is this class struggle? No, this is only a weak embryo of it. The struggle of the workers becomes a class struggle only when all the foremost representatives of the entire working class of the whole country are conscious of themselves as a single working class and launch a struggle that is directed, not against individual employers, but against the *entire class* of capitalists and against the government that supports that class. Only when the individual worker realises that he is a member of the entire working class, only when he recognises the fact that his petty day-to-day struggle against individual employers

and individual government officials is a struggle against the entire bourgeoisie and the entire government, does his struggle become a class struggle. "Every class struggle is a political struggle"—these famous words of Marx are not to be understood to mean that any struggle of workers against employers must *always* be a political struggle. They must be understood to mean that the struggle of the workers against the capitalists inevitably *becomes* a political struggle *insofar as* it becomes a *class* struggle. It is the task of the Social-Democrats, by organising the workers, by conducting propaganda and agitation among them, to *turn* their spontaneous struggle against their oppressors into the struggle of the whole class, into the struggle of a definite political *party* for definite political and socialist ideals. This is something that cannot be achieved by local activity alone.

Local Social-Democratic activity has attained a fairly high level in our country. The seeds of Social-Democratic ideas have been broadcast throughout Russia; workers' leaflets—the earliest form of Social-Democratic literature—are known to all Russian workers from St. Petersburg to Krasnoyarsk, from the Caucasus to the Urals. All that is now lacking is the unification of all this local work into the work of a single *party*. Our chief drawback, to the overcoming of which we must devote all our energy, is the narrow "amateurish" character of local work. Because of this amateurish character many manifestations of the working-class movement in Russia remain purely local events and lose a great deal of their significance as examples for the whole of Russian Social-Democracy, as a stage of the whole Russian working-class movement. Because of this amateurishness, the consciousness of their community of interests throughout Russia is insufficiently inculcated in the workers, they do not link up their struggle sufficiently with the idea of Russian socialism and Russian democracy. Because of this amateurishness the comrades' varying views on theoretical and practical problems are not openly discussed in a central newspaper, they do not serve the purpose of elaborating a common programme and devising common tactics for the Party, they are lost in narrow study-circle life or they lead to the inordinate exaggeration of local and chance peculiarities. Enough of our amateurishness! We have attained sufficient maturity to go over to *common action*, to the elaboration of a common Party programme, to the joint discussion of our Party tactics and organisation.

Russian Social-Democracy has done a great deal in criticising old revolutionary and socialist theories; it has not limited itself to criticism and theorising alone; it has shown that its programme is not hanging in the air but is meeting the extensive spontaneous movement among the people, that is, among the factory proletariat. It has now to make the following, very difficult, but very important, step—to elaborate an organisation of the movement adapted to our conditions. Social-Democracy is not confined to simple service to the working-class movement: it represents "*the combination of socialism and the working-class movement*" (to use Karl Kautsky's definition which repeats the basic ideas of the *Communist Manifesto*); the task of Social-Democracy is

to bring definite socialist ideals to the spontaneous working-class movement, to connect this movement with socialist convictions that should attain the level of contemporary science, to connect it with the regular political struggle for democracy as a means of achieving socialism—in a word, to fuse this spontaneous movement into one indestructible whole with the activity of the *revolutionary party*. The history of socialism and democracy in Western Europe, the history of the Russian revolutionary movement, the experience of our working-class movement—such is the *material* we must master to elaborate a purposeful organisation and purposeful tactics for our Party. “The analysis” of this material must, however, be done independently, since there are no ready-made models to be found anywhere. On the one hand, the Russian working-class movement exists under conditions that are quite different from those of Western Europe. It would be most dangerous to have any illusions on this score. On the other hand, Russian Social-Democracy differs very substantially from former revolutionary parties in Russia, so that the necessity of learning revolutionary technique and secret organisation from the old Russian masters (we do not in the least hesitate to admit this necessity) does not in any way relieve us of the duty of assessing them critically and elaborating our own organisation independently.

In the presentation of such a task there are two main questions that come to the fore with particular insistence: 1) How is the need for the complete liberty of local Social-Democratic activity to be combined with the need for establishing a single—and, consequently, a centralist—party? Social-Democracy draws its strength from the spontaneous working-class movement that manifests itself differently and at different times in the various industrial centres; the activity of the local Social-Democratic organisations is the *basis* of all party activity. If, however, this is to be the activity of isolated “amateurs,” then it cannot, strictly speaking, be called Social-Democratic, since it will not be the organisation and leadership of the *class* struggle of the proletariat. 2) How can we combine the striving of Social-Democracy to become a revolutionary party that makes the struggle for political liberty its chief purpose with the determined refusal of Social-Democracy to organise political conspiracies, its emphatic refusal to “call the workers to the barricades” (as correctly noted by P. B. Axelrod), or, in general, to impose on the workers this or that “plan” for an attack on the government, which has been thought up by a company of revolutionaries?

Russian Social-Democracy has every right to believe that it has provided the *theoretical* solution to these questions; to dwell on this would mean to repeat what has been said in the article, “Our Programme”. It is now a matter of the *practical* solution to these questions. This is not a solution that can be made by a single person or a single group; it can be provided only by the organised activity of Social-Democracy as a whole. We believe that the most urgent task of the moment consists in undertaking the solution of these questions, for which purpose we must have as our immediate aim *the founding of*

a Party organ that will appear regularly and be closely connected with all the local groups. We believe that *all* the activity of the Social-Democrats should be directed to this end throughout the whole of the forthcoming period. Without such an organ, local work will remain narrowly "amateurish". The formation of the Party—if the correct representation of that Party in a certain newspaper is not organised—will to a considerable extent remain bare words. An economic struggle that is not united by a central organ cannot become the *class* struggle of the entire Russian proletariat. It is impossible to conduct a political struggle if the Party as a whole fails to make statements on all questions of policy and to give direction to the various manifestations of the struggle. The organisation and disciplining of the revolutionary forces and the development of revolutionary technique are impossible without the discussion of all these questions in a central organ, without the collective elaboration of certain *forms and rules for the conduct of affairs*, without the establishment—through the central organ—of every Party member's *responsibility* to the entire Party.

In speaking of the necessity to concentrate *all* Party forces—all literary forces, all organisational abilities, all material resources, etc.—on the foundation and correct conduct of the organ of the whole Party, we do not for a moment think of pushing other forms of activity into the background—e.g., local agitation, demonstrations, boycott, the persecution of spies, the bitter campaigns against individual representatives of the bourgeoisie and the government, protest strikes, etc., etc. On the contrary, we are convinced that all these forms of activity constitute the *basis* of the Party's activity, but, *without* their unification through an organ of the whole Party, these forms of revolutionary struggle *lose nine-tenths of their significance*; they do not lead to the creation of common Party experience, to the creation of Party traditions and continuity. The Party organ, far from competing with such activity, will exercise tremendous influence on its extension, consolidation, and systematisation.

The necessity to concentrate *all* forces on establishing a regularly appearing and regularly delivered organ arises out of the peculiar situation of Russian Social-Democracy as compared with that of Social-Democracy in other European countries and with that of the old Russian revolutionary parties. Apart from newspapers, the workers of Germany, France etc., have numerous other means for the public manifestation of their activity, for organising the movement—parliamentary activity, election agitation, public meetings, participation in local public bodies (rural and urban), the open conduct of trade unions (professional, guild), etc., etc. *In place of all of that*, yes, *all* of that, we must be served—until we have won political liberty—by a revolutionary newspaper, without which *no* broad organisation of the entire working-class movement is possible. We do not believe in conspiracies, we renounce individual revolutionary ventures to destroy the government; the words of Liebknecht, veteran of German Social-Democracy, serve as the watchword of our activities: "*Studieren, propagandieren, organisieren*"—Learn, propagandise, organise—and the pivot of this activity can and must be only the *organ of the Party*.

But is the regular and more or less stable establishment of such an organ possible, and under what circumstances is it possible? We shall deal with this matter next time.

Written in the second half of 1899
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in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 4, pp. 215—220

An Urgent Question

In the previous article we said that our immediate task is to establish a Party organ, one that appears and can be delivered regularly, and we raised the question of whether and under what circumstances it is possible to achieve this aim. Let us examine the more important aspects of this question.

The main objection that may be raised is that the achievement of this purpose *first* requires the development of local group activity. We consider this fairly widespread opinion to be fallacious. We can and must immediately set about founding the Party organ—and, it follows, the Party itself—and putting them on a sound footing. The conditions essential to such a step already exist: local Party work is being carried on and obviously has struck deep roots; for the destructive police attacks that are growing more frequent lead to only short interruptions; fresh forces rapidly replace those that have fallen in battle. The Party has resources for publishing and literary forces, not only abroad, but in Russia as well. The question, therefore, is whether the work *that is already being conducted* should be continued in “amateur” fashion or whether it should be organised into the work of one party and in such a way that it is reflected in its entirety in one common organ.

Here we come to the most urgent question of our movement, to its sore point—organisation. The improvement of revolutionary organisation and discipline, the perfection of our underground technique are an absolute necessity. We must openly admit that in this respect we are lagging behind the old Russian revolutionary parties and must bend all our efforts to overtake and surpass them. Without improved organisation there can be no progress of our working-class movement in general, and no establishment of an active party with a properly functioning organ, in particular. That is on the one hand. On the other, the existing Party organs (organs in the sense of institutions and groups, as well as newspapers) must pay greater attention to questions of organisation and exert an influence in this respect on local groups.

Local, amateurish work always leads to a great excess of personal connections, to study-circle methods, and we have grown out of the study-circle stage which has become too narrow for our present-day work and which leads

to an over-expenditure of forces. Only fusion into a single party will enable us strictly to observe the principles of division of labour and economy of forces, which must be achieved in order to reduce the losses and build as reliable a bulwark as possible against the oppression of the autocratic government and against its frantic persecutions. Against us, against the tiny groups of socialists hidden in the expanses of the Russian "underground", there stands the huge machine of a most powerful modern state that is exerting all its forces to crush socialism and democracy. We are convinced that we shall, in the end, smash that police state, because all the sound and developing sections of our society are in favour of democracy and socialism; but, in order to conduct a systematic struggle against the government, we must raise revolutionary organisation, discipline, and the technique of underground work to the highest degree of perfection. It is essential for individual Party members or separate groups of members to specialise in the different aspects of Party work— some in the duplication of literature, others in its transport across the frontier, a third category in its distribution inside Russia, a fourth in its distribution in the cities, a fifth in the arrangement of secret meeting places, a sixth in the collection of funds, a seventh in the delivery of correspondence and all information about the movement, an eighth in maintaining relations, etc., etc. We know that this sort of specialisation requires much greater self-restraint, much greater ability to concentrate on modest, unseen, everyday work, much greater real heroism than the usual work in study circles.

The Russian socialists and the Russian working class, however, have shown their heroic qualities and, in general, it would be a sin to complain of a shortage of people. There is to be observed among the working youth an impassioned, uncontrollable enthusiasm for the ideas of democracy and socialism, and helpers for the workers still continue to arrive from among the intellectuals, despite the fact that the prisons and places of exile are overcrowded. If the idea of the necessity for a stricter organisation is made widely known among all these recruits to the revolutionary cause, the plan for the organisation of a regularly published and delivered Party newspaper will cease to be a dream. Let us take one of the conditions for the success of this plan—that the newspaper be assured a regular supply of correspondence and other material from everywhere. Has not history shown that at all times when there has been a resurgence of our revolutionary movement such a purpose has proved possible of achievement even in respect of papers published abroad? If Social-Democrats working in various localities come to regard the Party newspaper as *their own* and consider the maintenance of regular contact with it, the discussion of their problems and the reflection of the whole movement in it to be their main task, it will be quite possible to ensure the supply to the paper of full information about the movement, provided methods of maintaining secrecy, not very complicated ones, are observed. The other aspect of the question, that of delivering the newspaper regularly to all parts of Russia, is much more difficult, more difficult than the similar task under previous forms of revolutionary

movement in Russia when newspapers were not, to such an extent, intended for the masses of the people. The purpose of Social-Democratic newspapers, however, facilitates their distribution. The chief places to which the newspaper must be delivered regularly and in large numbers are the industrial centres, factory villages and towns, the factory districts of big cities, etc. In such centres the population is almost entirely working class; in actual fact the worker in such places is master of the situation and has hundreds of ways of outwitting the police; relations with neighbouring factory centres are distinguished by their extraordinary activity. At the time of the Exceptional Law against the Socialists (1878-90) the German political police did not function worse, but probably better, than the Russian police; nevertheless, the German workers, thanks to their organisation and discipline, were able to ensure the regular transport across the frontiers of a weekly illegal newspaper and to deliver it to the houses of all subscribers, so that even the ministers could not refrain from admiring the Social-Democratic post ("the red mail"). We do not, of course, dream of such successes, but we can, if we bend our efforts towards it, ensure that our Party newspaper appears no less than twelve times a year and is regularly delivered in all the main centres of the movement of all groups of workers that can be reached by socialism.

To return to the question of specialisation, we must also point out that its insufficiency is due partially to the dominance of "amateur" work and partially to the fact that our Social-Democratic newspapers usually devote far too little attention to questions of organisation.

Only the establishment of a common Party organ can give the "worker in a given field" of revolutionary activity the consciousness that he is marching with the "rank and file", the consciousness that his work is directly essential to the Party, that he is one of the links in the chain that will form a noose to strangle the most evil enemy of the Russian proletariat and of the whole Russian people—the Russian autocratic government. Only strict adherence to this type of specialisation can economise our forces; not only will every aspect of revolutionary work be carried out by a smaller number of people, but there will be an opportunity to make a number of aspects of present-day activities *legal* affairs. This *legalisation* of activity, its conduct within the framework of the law, has long been advised for Russian socialists by *Vorwärts* (*Forward*), the chief organ of the German Social-Democrats. At first sight one is astonished at such advice, but in actual fact it merits careful attention. Almost everyone who has worked in a local study circle in some city will easily remember that among the numerous and diverse affairs in which the circle engaged some were, in themselves, legal (e. g. the gathering of information on the workers' conditions; the study of legal literature on many questions; consultation and reviewing of certain types of foreign literature; maintenance of certain kinds of relations; aid to workers in obtaining a general education, in studying factory laws, etc.). Making affairs of this sort the specific function of a special contingent of people would reduce the strength of the revolutionary army "in

the firing line" (without any reduction of its "fighting potential") and increase the strength of the reserve, those who replace the "killed and wounded". This will be possible only when both the active members and the reserve see their activities reflected in the common organ of the Party and sense their connection with it. Local meetings of workers and local groups will, of course, always be necessary, no matter to what extent we carry out our specialisation; but, on the one hand, the number of mass revolutionary meetings (particularly dangerous from the standpoint of police action and often having results far from commensurate with the danger involved) will become considerably less and, on the other hand, the selection of various aspects of revolutionary work as special functions will provide greater opportunities to screen such meetings behind legal forms of assembly: entertainments, meetings of societies sanctioned by law, etc. Were not the French workers under Napoleon III and the German workers at the time of the Exceptional Law against the Socialists able to devise all possible ways to cover up their political and socialist meetings? Russian workers will be able to do likewise.

Further: only by better organisation and the establishment of a common Party organ will it be possible to extend *and* deepen the very content of Social-Democratic propaganda and agitation. We stand in great need of this. Local work must almost inevitably lead to the exaggeration of local particularities, to* this is impossible without a central organ which will, at the same time, be an advanced democratic organ. Only then will our *urge* to convert Social-Democracy into a leading fighter for democracy become *reality*. Only then, too, shall we be able to work out definite political tactics. Social-Democracy has renounced the fallacious theory of the "one reactionary mass". It regards utilisation of the support of the progressive classes against the reactionary classes to be one of the most important political tasks. As long as the organisations and publications are local in character, this task can hardly be carried out at all: matters do not go farther than relations with individual "liberals" and the extraction of various "services" from them. Only a common Party organ, consistently implementing the principles of political struggle and holding high the banner of democracy will be able to win over to its side all militant democratic elements and use all Russia's progressive forces in the struggle for political freedom. Only then shall we be able to convert the workers' smouldering hatred of the police and the authorities into conscious hatred of the autocratic government and into determination to conduct a desperate struggle for the rights of the working class and of the entire Russian people! In modern Russia, a strictly organised revolutionary party built up on this foundation will prove the greatest political force!

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in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 4, pp. 221—226

* Part of the manuscript is not extant.—*Ed.*

Draft of a Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*

(Extracts)

In undertaking the publication of two Social-Democratic organs—a scientific and political magazine and an all-Russian working-class newspaper—we consider it necessary to say a few words concerning our programme, the objects for which we are striving, and the understanding we have of our tasks.

We are passing through an extremely important period in the history of the Russian working-class movement and Russian Social-Democracy. All evidence goes to show that our movement has reached a critical stage. It has spread so widely and has brought forth so many strong shoots in the most diverse parts of Russia that it is now striving with unrestrained vigour to consolidate itself, assume a higher form, and develop a definite shape and organisation. Indeed, the past few years have been marked by an astonishingly rapid spread of Social-Democratic ideas among our intelligentsia; and meeting this trend in social ideas is the spontaneous, completely independent movement of the industrial proletariat, which is beginning to unite and struggle against its oppressors and is manifesting an eager striving for socialism. Study circles of workers and Social-Democratic intellectuals are springing up everywhere, local agitation leaflets are beginning to appear, the demand for Social-Democratic literature is increasing and is far outstripping the supply, and intensified government persecution is powerless to restrain the movement.

The prisons and places of exile are filled to overflowing. Hardly a month goes by without our hearing of socialists “caught in dragnets” in all parts of Russia, of the capture of underground couriers, of the arrest of agitators, and the confiscation of literature and printing-presses; but the movement goes on and is growing, it is spreading to ever wider regions, it is penetrating more and more deeply into the working class and is attracting public attention to an everincreasing degree. The entire economic development of Russia and the history of social thought and of the revolutionary movement in Russia serve as a guarantee that the Social-Democratic working-class movement will grow and surmount all the obstacles that confront it.

The principal feature of our movement, which has become particularly marked in recent times, is its state of disunity and its amateur character, if one may so express it. Local study circles spring up and function in almost complete isolation from circles in other districts and—what is particularly important—from circles that have functioned and now function simultaneously in the same districts. Traditions are not established and continuity is not maintained; local publications fully reflect this disunity and the lack of contact

with what Russian Social-Democracy has already achieved. The present period, therefore, seems to us to be critical precisely for the reason that the movement is outgrowing this amateur stage and this disunity, is insistently demanding a transition to a higher, more united, better and more organised form, which we consider it our duty to promote. It goes without saying that at a certain stage of the movement, at its inception, this disunity is entirely inevitable; the absence of continuity is natural in view of the astonishingly rapid and universal growth of the movement after a long period of revolutionary calm. Undoubtedly, too, there will always be diversity in local conditions; there will always be differences in the conditions of the working class in one district as compared with those in another; and, lastly, there will always be the particular aspect in the points of view among the active local workers; this very diversity is evidence of the virility of the movement and of its sound growth. All this is true, yet disunity and lack of organisation are not a necessary consequence of this diversity. The maintenance of continuity and the unity of the movement do not by any means exclude diversity, but, on the contrary, create for it a much broader arena and a freer field of action. In the present period of the movement, however, disunity is beginning to show a definitely harmful effect and is threatening to divert the movement to a false path: narrow practicalism, detached from the theoretical clarification of the movement as a whole, may destroy the contact between socialism and the revolutionary movement in Russia, on the one hand, and the spontaneous working-class movement, on the other... The following practical conclusion is to be drawn from the foregoing: we Russian Social-Democrats must unite and direct all our efforts towards the formation of a single, strong party, which must struggle under the banner of a revolutionary Social-Democratic programme, which must maintain the continuity of the movement and systematically support its organisation. This conclusion is not a new one. The Russian Social-Democrats reached it two years ago when the representatives of the largest Social-Democratic organisations in Russia gathered at a congress in the spring of 1898, formed the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, published the *Manifesto* of the Party, and recognised *Rabochaya Gazeta* as the official Party organ. Regarding ourselves as members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, we agree entirely with the fundamental ideas contained in the *Manifesto* and attach extreme importance to it as the open and public declaration of the aims towards which our Party should strive. Consequently, we, as members of the Party, present the question of our immediate and direct tasks as follows: What plan of activity must we adopt to revive the Party on the firmest possible basis? Some comrades (even some groups and organisations) are of the opinion that in order to achieve this we must resume the practice of electing the central Party body and instruct it to resume the publication of the Party organ. We consider such a plan to be a false one or, at all events, a hazardous one. To establish and consolidate the Party means to establish and consolidate unity among all Russian Social-Democrats; such unity cannot be decreed, it cannot be brought about by

a decision, say, of a meeting of representatives; it must be worked for. In the first place, it is necessary to develop a common Party literature—common, not only in the sense that it must serve the whole of the Russian movement rather than separate districts, that it must discuss the questions of the movement as a whole and assist the class-conscious proletarians in their struggle instead of dealing merely with local questions, but common also in the sense that it must unite all the available literary forces, that it must express all shades of opinion and views prevailing among Russian Social-Democrats, not as isolated workers, but as comrades united in the ranks of a single organisation by a common programme and a common struggle. Secondly, we must work to achieve an organisation especially for the purpose of establishing and maintaining contact among all the centres of the movement, of supplying complete and timely information about the movement, and of delivering our newspapers and periodicals regularly to all parts of Russia. Only when such an organisation has been founded, only when a Russian socialist post has been established, will the Party possess a sound foundation, only then will it become a real fact and, therefore, a mighty political force. We intend to devote our efforts to the first half of this task, i.e., to creating a common literature, since we regard this as the pressing demand of the movement today, and a necessary preliminary measure towards the resumption of Party activity.

The character of our task naturally determines the programme for conducting our publications. They must devote considerable space to theoretical questions, i.e., to the general theory of Social-Democracy and its application to Russian conditions. The urgent need to promote a wide discussion of these questions at the present time in particular is beyond all doubt and requires no further explanation after what has been said above. It goes without saying that questions of general theory are inseparably connected with the need to supply information about the history and the present state of the working-class movement in the West. Furthermore, we propose systematically to discuss all political questions—the Social-Democratic Labour Party must respond to all questions that arise in all spheres of our daily life, to all questions of home and foreign politics, and we must see to it that every Social-Democrat and every class-conscious worker has definite views on all important questions. Unless this condition is fulfilled, it will be impossible to carry on wide and systematic propaganda and agitation. The discussion of questions of theory and policy will be connected with the drafting of a Party programme, the necessity for which was recognised at the congress in 1898. In the near future we intend to publish a draft programme; a comprehensive discussion of it should provide sufficient material for the forthcoming congress that will have to adopt a programme. A further vital task, in our opinion, is the discussion of questions of organisation and practical methods of conducting our work. The lack of continuity and the disunity, to which reference has been made above, have a particularly harmful effect upon the present state of Party discipline, organisation, and the technique of secrecy. It must be publicly and frankly

owned that in this respect we Social-Democrats lag behind the old workers in the Russian revolutionary movement and behind other organisations functioning in Russia, and we must exert all our efforts to come abreast of the tasks. The attraction of large numbers of working-class and intellectual young people to the movement, the increasing failures and the cunningness of governmental persecution make the propaganda of the principles and methods of Party organisation, discipline, and the technique of secrecy an urgent necessity.

Such propaganda, if supported by all the various groups and by all the more experienced comrades, can and must result in the training of young socialists and workers as able leaders of the revolutionary movement, capable of overcoming all obstacles placed in the way of our work by the tyranny of the autocratic police state and capable of serving all the requirements of the working masses, who are spontaneously striving towards socialism and political struggle. Finally, one of the principal tasks arising out of the above-mentioned issues must be the analysis of this spontaneous movement (among the working masses, as well as among our intelligentsia). We must try to understand the social movement of the intelligentsia which marked the late nineties in Russia and combined various, and sometimes conflicting, tendencies. We must carefully study the conditions of the working class in all spheres of economic life, study the forms and conditions of the workers' awakening, and of the struggles now setting in, in order that we may unite the Russian working-class movement and Marxist socialism, which has already begun to take root in Russian soil, into one integral whole, in order that we may combine the Russian revolutionary movement with the spontaneous upsurge of the masses of the people. Only when this contact has been established can a Social-Democratic working-class party be formed in Russia; for Social-Democracy does not exist merely to serve the spontaneous working-class movement (as some of our present-day "practical workers" are sometimes inclined to think), but to combine socialism with the working-class movement. And it is only this combination that will enable the Russian proletariat to fulfil its immediate political task—to liberate Russia from the tyranny of the autocracy.

The distribution of these themes and questions between the magazine and the newspaper will be determined exclusively by differences in the size and character of the two publications—the magazine should serve mainly for propaganda, the newspaper mainly for agitation. But all aspects of the movement should be reflected in both the magazine and the newspaper, and we wish particularly to emphasise our opposition to the view that a workers' newspaper should devote its pages exclusively to matters that immediately and directly concern the spontaneous working-class movement, and leave everything pertaining to the theory of socialism, science, politics, questions of Party organisation, etc., to a periodical for the intelligentsia. On the contrary, it is necessary to combine all the concrete facts and manifestations of the working-class movement with the indicated questions; the light of theory must be cast upon every separate fact; propaganda on questions of politics and Party organis-

ation must be carried on among the broad masses of the working class; and these questions must be dealt with in the work of agitation. The type of agitation which has hitherto prevailed almost without exception—agitation by means of locally published leaflets—is now inadequate; it is narrow, it deals only with local and mainly economic questions. We must try to create a higher form of agitation by means of the newspaper, which must contain a regular record of workers' grievances, workers' strikes, and other forms of proletarian struggle, as well as all manifestations of political tyranny in the whole of Russia; which must draw definite conclusions from each of these manifestations in accordance with the ultimate aim of socialism and the political tasks of the Russian proletariat. "Extend the bounds and broaden the content of our propagandist, agitational, and organisational activity"—this statement by P. B. Axelrod must serve as a slogan defining the activities of Russian Social-Democrats in the immediate future, and we adopt this slogan in the programme of our publications.

Here the question naturally arises: if the proposed publications are to serve the purpose of uniting all Russian Social-Democrats and mustering them into a single party, they must reflect all shades of opinion, all local specific features, and all the various practical methods. How can we combine the varying points of view with the maintenance of a uniform editorial policy for these publications? Should these publications be merely a jumble of various views, or should they have an independent and quite definite tendency?

We hold to the second view and hope that an organ having a definite tendency will prove quite suitable (as we shall show below), both for the purpose of expressing various viewpoints, and for comradely polemics between contributors. Our views are in complete accord with the fundamental ideas of Marxism (as expressed in the *Communist Manifesto*, and in the programmes of Social-Democrats in Western Europe); we stand for the consistent development of these ideas in the spirit of Marx and Engels and emphatically reject the equivocating and opportunist corrections *à la* Bernstein which have now become so fashionable. As we see it, the task of Social-Democracy is to organise the class struggle of the proletariat, to promote that struggle, to point out its essential ultimate aim, and to analyse the conditions that determine the methods by which this struggle should be conducted. "The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves." But while we do not separate Social-Democracy from the working-class movement, we must not forget that the task of the former is to represent the interests of this movement in all countries as a whole, that it must not blindly worship any particular phase of the movement at any particular time or place. We think that it is the duty of Social-Democracy to support every revolutionary movement against the existing political and social system, and we regard its aim to be the conquest of political power by the working class, the expropriation of the expropriators, and the establishment of a socialist society. We strongly repudiate every attempt to weaken or tone down the revolutionary character of

Social-Democracy, which is the party of social revolution, ruthlessly hostile to all classes standing for the present social system. We believe the historical task of Russian Social-Democracy is, in particular, to overthrow the autocracy: Russian Social-Democracy is destined to become the vanguard fighter in the ranks of Russian democracy; it is destined to achieve the aim which the whole social development of Russia sets before it and which it has inherited from the glorious fighters in the Russian revolutionary movement. Only by inseparably connecting the economic and political struggles, only by spreading political propaganda and agitation among wider and wider strata of the working class, can Social-Democracy fulfil its mission . . .

. . . Although we carry out our literary work from the standpoint of a definite tendency, we do not in the least intend to present all our views on partial questions as those of all Russian Social-Democrats; we do not deny that differences exist, nor shall we attempt to conceal or obliterate them. On the contrary, we desire our publications to become organs for the *discussion* of all questions by all Russian Social-Democrats of the most diverse shades of opinion. We do not reject polemics between comrades, but, on the contrary, are prepared to give them considerable space in our columns. Open polemics, conducted in full view of all Russian Social-Democrats and class-conscious workers, are necessary and desirable in order to clarify the depth of existing differences, in order to afford discussion of disputed questions from all angles, in order to combat the extremes into which representatives of various views, various localities, or various "specialities" of the revolutionary movement inevitably fall. Indeed, we regard one of the drawbacks of the present-day movement to be the absence of open polemics between avowedly differing views, the effort to conceal differences on fundamental questions.

Moreover, while recognising the Russian working class and Russian Social-Democracy as the vanguard in the struggle for democracy and for political liberty, we think it necessary to strive to make our publications *general-democratic* organs, not in the sense that we would for a single moment agree to forget the class antagonism between the proletariat and other classes, nor in the sense that we would consent to the slightest toning-down of the class struggle, but in the sense that we would bring forward and discuss *all* democratic questions, not confining ourselves merely to narrowly proletarian questions; in the sense that we would bring forward and discuss all instances and manifestations of political oppression, show the connection between the working-class movement and the political struggle in all its forms, attract all honest fighters against the autocracy, regardless of their views or the class they belong to, and induce them to support the working class as the only revolutionary force irrevocably hostile to absolutism. Consequently, although we appeal primarily to the Russian socialists and class-conscious workers, we do not appeal to them alone. We also call upon all who are oppressed by the present political system in Russia, on all who strive for the emancipation of the Russian people from their political slavery to support the publications which will be devoted to

organising the working-class movement into a revolutionary political party; we place the columns of our publications at their disposal in order that they may expose all the abominations and crimes of the Russian autocracy. We make this appeal in the conviction that the banner of the political struggle raised by Russian Social-Democracy can and will become the banner of the whole people.

The tasks we set ourselves are extremely broad and all-embracing, and we would not have dared to take them up, were we not absolutely convinced from the whole of our past experience that these are the most urgent tasks of the whole movement, were we not assured of the sympathy and of promises of generous and constant support on the part of: 1. several organisations of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and of separate groups of Russian Social-Democrats working in various towns; 2. the Emancipation of Labour group, which founded Russian Social-Democracy and has always been in the lead of its theoreticians and literary representatives; 3. a number of persons who are unaffiliated with any organisation, but who sympathise with the Social-Democratic working-class movement, and have proved of no little service to it. We will exert every effort to carry out properly the part of the general revolutionary work which we have selected, and will do our best to bring every Russian comrade to regard our publications as his own, to which *all* groups would communicate every kind of information concerning the movement, in which they would express their views, indicate their needs for political literature, relate their experiences, and voice their opinions concerning Social-Democratic editions; in a word, the medium through which they would thereby share whatever contribution they make to the movement and whatever they draw from it. Only in this way will it be possible to establish a genuinely all-Russian Social-Democratic organ. Russian Social-Democracy is already finding itself constricted in the underground conditions in which the various groups and isolated study circles carry on their work. It is time to come out on the road of open advocacy of socialism, on the road of open political struggle. The establishment of an all-Russian organ of Social-Democracy must be *the first step on this road*.

Written in the spring of 1900
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Collected Works, Vol. 4, pp. 320—330

Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra*

IN THE NAME OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD

In undertaking the publication of a political newspaper, *Iskra*, we consider it necessary to say a few words concerning the objects for which we are striving and the understanding we have of our tasks.

We are passing through an extremely important period in the history of the Russian working-class movement and Russian Social-Democracy. The past few years have been marked by an astonishingly rapid spread of Social-Democratic ideas among our intelligentsia, and meeting this trend in social ideas is an independent movement of the industrial proletariat, which is beginning to unite and struggle against its oppressors, and to strive eagerly towards socialism. Study circles of workers and Social-Democratic intellectuals are springing up everywhere, local agitation leaflets are being widely distributed, the demand for Social-Democratic literature is increasing and is far outstripping the supply, and intensified government persecution is powerless to restrain the movement. The prisons and places of exile are filled to overflowing. Hardly a month goes by without our hearing of socialists "caught in dragnets" in all part of Russia, of the capture of underground couriers, of the confiscation of literature and printing-presses. But the movement is growing, it is spreading to ever wider regions, it is penetrating more and more deeply into the working class and is attracting public attention to an ever-increasing degree. The entire economic development of Russia and the history of social thought and of the revolutionary movement in Russia serve as a guarantee that the Social-Democratic working-class movement will grow and will, in the end, surmount all the obstacles that confront it.

On the other hand, the principal feature of our movement, which has become particularly marked in recent times, is its state of disunity and its amateur character, if one may so express it. Local study circles spring up and function independently of one another and—what is particularly important—of circles that have functioned and still function in the same districts. Traditions are not established and continuity is not maintained; local publications fully reflect this disunity and the lack of contact with what Russian Social-Democracy has already achieved.

Such a state of disunity is not in keeping with the demands posed by the movement in its present strength and breadth, and creates, in our opinion, a critical moment in its development. The need for consolidation and for a definite form and organisation is felt with irresistible force in the movement itself; yet among Social-Democrats active in the practical field this need for a transition to a higher form of the movement is not everywhere realised. On the contrary, among wide circles an ideological wavering is to be seen, an

infatuation with the fashionable "criticism of Marxism" and with "Bernsteinism", the spread of the views of the so-called "economist" trend, and what is inseparably connected with it—an effort to keep the movement at its lower level, to push into the background the task of forming a revolutionary party that heads the struggle of the entire people. *It is a fact* that such an ideological wavering is to be observed among Russian Social-Democrats; that narrow practicalism, detached from the theoretical clarification of the movement as a whole, threatens to divert the movement to a false path. No one who has direct knowledge of the state of affairs in the majority of our organisations has any doubt whatever on that score. Moreover, literary productions exist which confirm this. It is sufficient to mention the *Credo*, which has already called forth legitimate protest; the *Separate Supplement to "Rabochaya Mysl"* (September 1899), which brought out so markedly the trend that permeates the whole of *Rabochaya Mysl*; and, finally, the manifesto of the St. Petersburg Self-Emancipation of the Working Class group, also drawn up in the spirit of "economism". And *completely untrue* are the assertions of *Rabocheye Dyelo* to the effect that the *Credo* merely represents the opinions of individuals, that the trend represented by *Rabochaya Mysl* expresses merely the confusion of mind and the tactlessness of its editors, and not a special tendency in the progress of the Russian working-class movement.

Simultaneously with this, the works of authors whom the reading public has hitherto, with more or less reason, regarded as prominent representatives of "legal" Marxism are increasingly revealing a change of views in a direction approximating that of bourgeois apologetics. As a result of all this, we have the confusion and anarchy which has enabled the ex-Marxist, or, more precisely, the ex-socialist, Bernstein, in recounting his successes, to declare, unchallenged, in the press that the majority of Social-Democrats active in Russia are his followers.

We do not desire to exaggerate the gravity of the situation, but it would be immeasurably more harmful to close our eyes to it. For this reason we heartily welcome the decision of the Emancipation of Labour group to resume its literary activity and begin a systematic struggle against the attempts to distort and vulgarise Social-Democracy.

The following practical conclusion is to be drawn from the foregoing: we Russian Social-Democrats must unite and direct all our efforts towards the formation of a strong party which must struggle under the single banner of revolutionary Social-Democracy. This is precisely the task laid down by the congress in 1898 at which the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was formed, and which published its *Manifesto*.

We regard ourselves as members of this Party; we agree entirely with the fundamental ideas contained in the *Manifesto* and attach extreme importance to it as a public declaration of its aims. Consequently, we, as members of the Party, present the question of our immediate and direct tasks as follows: What plan of activity must we adopt to revive the Party on the firmest possible basis?

The reply usually made to this question is that it is necessary to elect anew a central Party body and instruct it to resume the publication of the Party organ. But, in the period of confusion through which we are now passing, such a simple method is hardly expedient.

To establish and consolidate the Party means to establish and consolidate unity among all Russian Social-Democrats, and, for the reasons indicated above, such unity cannot be decreed, it cannot be brought about by a decision, say, of a meeting of representatives; it must be worked for. In the first place, it is necessary to work for solid ideological unity which should eliminate discordance and confusion that—let us be frank!—reign among Russian Social-Democrats at the present time. This ideological unity must be consolidated by a Party programme. Secondly, we must work to achieve an organisation especially for the purpose of establishing and maintaining contact among all the centres of the movement, of supplying complete and timely information about the movement, and of delivering our newspapers and periodicals regularly to all parts of Russia. Only when such an organisation has been founded, only when a Russian socialist post has been established, will the Party possess a sound foundation and become a real fact, and, therefore, a mighty political force. We intend to devote our efforts to the first half of this task, i.e., to creating a common literature, consistent in principle and capable of ideologically uniting revolutionary Social-Democracy, since we regard this as the pressing demand of the movement today and a necessary preliminary measure towards the resumption of Party activity.

As we have said, the ideological unity of Russian Social-Democrats has still to be created, and to this end it is, in our opinion, necessary to have an open and all-embracing discussion of the fundamental questions of principle and tactics raised by the present-day "economists," Bernsteinians, and "critics". Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation. Otherwise, our unity will be purely fictitious, it will conceal the prevailing confusion and hinder its radical elimination. It is understandable, therefore, that we do not intend to make our publication a mere storehouse of various views. On the contrary, we shall conduct it in the spirit of a strictly defined tendency. This tendency can be expressed by the word Marxism, and there is hardly need to add that we stand for the consistent development of the ideas of Marx and Engels and emphatically reject the equivocating, vague, and opportunist "corrections" for which Eduard Bernstein, P. Struve, and many others have set the fashion. But although we shall discuss all questions from our own definite point of view, we shall give space in our columns to polemics between comrades. Open polemics, conducted in full view of all Russian Social-Democrats and class-conscious workers, are necessary and desirable in order to clarify the depth of existing differences, in order to afford discussion of disputed questions from all angles, in order to combat the extremes into which representatives, not only of various views, but even of various localities, or various "specialities"

of the revolutionary movement, inevitably fall. Indeed, as noted above, we regard one of the drawbacks of the present-day movement to be the absence of open polemics between avowedly differing views, the effort to conceal differences on fundamental questions.

We shall not enumerate in detail all questions and points of subject-matter included in the programme of our publication, for this programme derives automatically from the general conception of what a political newspaper, published under present conditions, should be.

We will exert our efforts to bring every Russian comrade to regard our publication as his own, to which all groups would communicate every kind of information concerning the movement, in which they would relate their experiences, express their views, indicate their needs for political literature, and voice their opinions concerning Social-Democratic editions: in a word, they would thereby share whatever contribution they make to the movement and whatever they draw from it. Only in this way will it be possible to establish a genuinely all-Russian Social-Democratic organ. Only such a publication will be capable of leading the movement on to the high road of political struggle. "Extend the bounds and broaden the content of our propagandist, agitational, and organisational activity"—these words of P. B. Axelrod must serve as a slogan defining the activities of Russian Social-Democrats in the immediate future, and we adopt this slogan in the programme of our publication.

We appeal not only to socialists and class-conscious workers, we also call upon all who are oppressed by the present political system; we place the columns of our publications at their disposal in order that they may expose all the abominations of the Russian autocracy.

Those who regard Social-Democracy as an organisation serving exclusively the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat may be content with merely local agitation and working-class literature "pure and simple". We do not understand Social-Democracy in this way; we regard it as a revolutionary party, inseparably connected with the working-class movement and directed against absolutism. Only when organised in such a party will the proletariat—the most revolutionary class in Russia today—be in a position to fulfil the historical task that confronts it—to unite under its banner all the democratic elements in the country and to crown the tenacious struggle in which so many generations have fallen with the final triumph over the hated regime.

The size of the newspaper will range from one to two printed signatures.

In view of the conditions under which the Russian underground press has to work, there will be no regular date of publication.

We have been promised contributions by a number of prominent representatives of international Social-Democracy, the close co-operation of the Emancipation of Labour group (G. V. Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod, and V. I. Zasulich),

and the support of several organisations of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, as well as of separate groups of Russian Social-Democrats.

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as a separate leaflet

Collected Works, Vol. 4, pp. 351—356

Where To Begin

In recent years the question of “what is to be done” has confronted Russian Social-Democrats with particular insistence. It is not a question of what path we must choose (as was the case in the late eighties and early nineties), but of what practical steps we must take upon the known path and how they shall be taken. It is a question of a system and plan of practical work. And it must be admitted that we have not yet solved this question of the character and the methods of struggle, fundamental for a party of practical activity, that it still gives rise to serious differences of opinion which reveal a deplorable ideological instability and vacillation. On the one hand, the “Economist” trend, far from being dead, is endeavouring to clip and narrow the work of political organisation and agitation. On the other, unprincipled eclecticism is again rearing its head, aping every new “trend”, and is incapable of distinguishing immediate demands from the main tasks and permanent needs of the movement as a whole. This trend, as we know, has ensconced itself in *Rabocheye Dyelo*. This journal’s latest statement of “programme”, a bombastic article under the bombastic title “A Historic Turn” (“*Listok*” *Rabochego Dyela*, No. 6), bears out with special emphasis the characterisation we have given. Only yesterday there was a flirtation with “Economism”, a fury over the resolute condemnation of *Rabochaya Mysl*, and Plekhanov’s presentation of the question of the struggle against autocracy was being toned down. But today Liebknecht’s words are being quoted: “If the circumstances change within twenty-four hours, then tactics must be changed within twenty-four hours.” There is talk of a “strong fighting organisation” for direct attack, for storming the autocracy; of “broad revolutionary political agitation among the masses” (how energetic we are now—both revolutionary and political!); of “ceaseless calls for street protests”; of “street demonstrations of a pronounced [*sic!*] political character”; and so on, and so forth.

We might perhaps declare ourselves happy at *Rabocheye Dyelo*’s quick grasp of the programme we put forward in the first issue of *Iskra*, calling for the formation of a strong well-organised party, whose aim is not only to win isolated concessions but to storm the fortress of the autocracy itself; but the lack of any set point of view in these individuals can only dampen our happiness.

Rabocheye Dyelo, of course, mentions Liebknecht's name in vain. The tactics of agitation in relation to some special question, or the tactics with regard to some detail of party organisation may be changed in twenty-four hours; but only people devoid of all principle are capable of changing, in twenty-four hours, or, for that matter, in twenty-four months, their view on the necessity—in general, constantly, and absolutely—of an organisation of struggle and of political agitation among the masses. It is ridiculous to plead different circumstances and a change of periods: the building of a fighting organisation and the conduct of political agitation are essential under any “drab, peaceful” circumstances, in any period, no matter how marked by a “declining revolutionary spirit”; moreover, it is precisely in such periods and under such circumstances that work of this kind is particularly necessary, since it is too late to form the organisation in times of explosion and outbursts; the party must be in a state of readiness to launch activity at a moment's notice. “Change the tactics within twenty-four hours”! But in order to change tactics it is first necessary to have tactics; without a strong organisation skilled in waging political struggle under all circumstances and at all times, there can be no question of that systematic plan of action, illumined by firm principles and steadfastly carried out, which alone is worthy of the name of tactics. Let us, indeed, consider the matter; we are now being told that the “historic moment” has presented our Party with a “completely new” question—the question of terror. Yesterday the “completely new” question was political organisation and agitation; today it is terror. Is it not strange to hear people who have so grossly forgotten their principles holding forth on a radical change in tactics?

Fortunately, *Rabocheye Dyelo* is in error. The question of terror is not a new question at all; it will suffice to recall briefly the established views of Russian Social-Democracy on the subject.

In principle we have never rejected, and cannot reject, terror. Terror is one of the forms of military action that may be perfectly suitable and even essential at a definite juncture in the battle, given a definite state of the troops and the existence of definite conditions. But the important point is that terror, at the present time, is by no means suggested as an operation for the army in the field, an operation closely connected with and integrated into the entire system of struggle, but as an independent form of occasional attack unrelated to any army. Without a central body and with the weakness of local revolutionary organisations, this, in fact, is all that terror can be. We, therefore, declare emphatically that under the present conditions such a means of struggle is inopportune and unsuitable; that it diverts the most active fighters from their real task, the task which is most important from the standpoint of the interests of the movement as a whole; and that it disorganises the forces, not of the government, but of the revolution. We need but recall the recent events. With our own eyes we saw that the mass of workers and “common people” of the towns pressed forward in struggle, while the revolutionaries lacked a staff

of leaders and organisers. Under such conditions, is there not the danger that, as the most energetic revolutionaries go over to terror, the fighting contingents, in whom alone it is possible to place serious reliance, will be weakened? Is there not the danger of rupturing the contact between the revolutionary organisations and the disunited masses of the discontented, the protesting, and the disposed to struggle, who are weak precisely because they are disunited? Yet it is this contact that is the sole guarantee of our success. Far be it from us to deny the significance of heroic individual blows, but it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror, against taking it to be the chief and basic means of struggle, as so many people strongly incline to do at present. Terror can never be a regular military operation; at best it can only serve as one of the methods employed in a decisive assault. But can we *issue the call* for such a decisive assault at the present moment? *Rabocheye Dyelo* apparently thinks we can. At any rate, it exclaims: "Form assault columns!" But this, again, is more zeal than reason. The main body of our military forces consists of volunteers and insurgents. We possess only a few small units of regular troops, and these are not even mobilised; they are not connected with one another, nor have they been trained to form columns of any sort, let alone assault columns. In view of all this, it must be clear to anyone who is capable of appreciating the general conditions of our struggle and who is mindful of them at every "turn" in the historical course of events that at the present moment our slogan cannot be "To the assault", but has to be, "Lay siege to the enemy fortress". In other words, the immediate task of our Party is not to summon all available forces for the attack right now, but to call for the formation of a revolutionary organisation capable of uniting all forces and guiding the movement in actual practice and not in name alone, that is, an organisation ready at any time to support every protest and every outbreak and use it to build up and consolidate the fighting forces suitable for the decisive struggle.

The lesson of the February and March events has been so impressive that no disagreement in principle with this conclusion is now likely to be encountered. What we need at the present moment, however, is not a solution of the problem in principle but a practical solution. We should not only be clear on the nature of the organisation that is needed and its precise purpose, but we must elaborate a definite *plan* for an organisation, so that its formation may be undertaken from all aspects. In view of the pressing importance of the question, we, on our part, take the liberty of submitting to the comrades a skeleton plan to be developed in greater detail in a pamphlet now in preparation for print.

In our opinion, the starting-point of our activities, the first step towards creating the desired organisation, or, let us say, the main thread which, if followed, would enable us steadily to develop, deepen, and extend that organisation, should be the founding of an all-Russian political newspaper. A newspaper is what we most of all need; without it we cannot conduct that systematic, all-round propaganda and agitation, consistent in principle, which is the chief

and permanent task of Social-Democracy in general and, in particular, the pressing task of the moment, when interest in politics and in questions of socialism has been aroused among the broadest strata of the population. Never has the need been felt so acutely as today for reinforcing dispersed agitation in the form of individual action, local leaflets, pamphlets, etc., by means of generalised and systematic agitation that can only be conducted with the aid of the periodical press. It may be said without exaggeration that the frequency and regularity with which a newspaper is printed (and distributed) can serve as a precise criterion of how well this cardinal and most essential sector of our militant activities is built up. Furthermore, our newspaper must be all-Russian. If we fail, and as long as we fail, to combine our efforts to influence the people and the government by means of the printed word, it will be utopian to think of combining other means more complex, more difficult, but also more decisive, for exerting influence. Our movement suffers in the first place, ideologically, as well as in practical and organisational respects, from its state of fragmentation, from the almost complete immersion of the overwhelming majority of Social-Democrats in local work, which narrows their outlook, the scope of their activities, and their skill in the maintenance of secrecy and their preparedness. It is precisely in this state of fragmentation that one must look for the deepest roots of the instability and the waverings noted above. The *first* step towards eliminating this shortcoming, towards transforming divers local movements into a single, all-Russian movement, must be the founding of an all-Russian newspaper. Lastly, what we need is definitely a *political* newspaper. Without a political organ, a political movement deserving that name is inconceivable in the Europe of today. Without such a newspaper we cannot possibly fulfil our task—that of concentrating all the elements of political discontent and protest, of vitalising thereby the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. We have taken the first step, we have aroused in the working class a passion for “economic”, factory exposures; we must now take the next step, that of arousing in every section of the population that is at all politically conscious a passion for *political* exposure. We must not be discouraged by the fact that the voice of political exposure is today so feeble, timid, and infrequent. This is not because of a wholesale submission to police despotism, but because those who are able and ready to make exposures have no tribune from which to speak, no eager and encouraging audience, they do not see anywhere among the people that force to which it would be worth while directing their complaint against the “omnipotent” Russian Government. But today all this is rapidly changing. There is such a force—it is the revolutionary proletariat, which has demonstrated its readiness, not only to listen to and support the summons to political struggle, but boldly to engage in battle. We are now in a position to provide a tribune for the nationwide exposure of the tsarist government, and it is our duty to do this. That tribune must be a Social-Democratic newspaper. The Russian working class, as distinct from the other classes and strata of Russian society, displays a constant interest in political knowledge and manifests

a constant and extensive demand (not only in periods of intensive unrest) for illegal literature. When such a mass demand is evident, when the training of experienced revolutionary leaders has already begun, and when the concentration of the working class makes it virtual master in the working-class districts of the big cities and in the factory settlements and communities, it is quite feasible for the proletariat to found a political newspaper. Through the proletariat the newspaper will reach the urban petty bourgeoisie, the rural handicraftsmen, and the peasants, thereby becoming a real people's political newspaper.

The role of a newspaper, however, is not limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education, and to the enlistment of political allies. A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour. With the aid of the newspaper, and through it, a permanent organisation will naturally take shape that will engage, not only in local activities, but in regular general work, and will train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population, and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence those events. The mere technical task of regularly supplying the newspaper with copy and of promoting regular distribution will necessitate a network of local agents of the united party, who will maintain constant contact with one another, know the general state of affairs, get accustomed to performing regularly their detailed functions in the all-Russian work, and test their strength in the organisation of various revolutionary actions. This network of agents* will form the skeleton of precisely the kind of organisation we need—one that is sufficiently large to embrace the whole country; sufficiently broad and many-sided to effect a strict and detailed division of labour; sufficiently well tempered to be able to conduct steadily *its own* work under any circumstances, at all "sudden turns", and in face of all contingencies; sufficiently flexible to be able, on the one hand, to avoid an open battle against an overwhelming enemy, when the enemy has concentrated all his forces at one spot, and yet, on the other, to take advantage of his unwieldiness and to attack him when and where he least expects it. Today we are faced with the relatively easy task of supporting student demonstrations in the streets of big cities; tomorrow we may, perhaps, have the more difficult task of supporting, for example, the

* It will be understood, of course, that these agents could work successfully only in the closest contact with the local committees (groups, study circles) of our Party. In general, the entire plan we project can, of course, be implemented only with the most active support of the committees which have on repeated occasions attempted to unite the Party and which, we are sure, will achieve this unification—if not today, then tomorrow, if not in one way, then in another.

unemployed movement in some particular area, and the day after to be at our posts in order to play a revolutionary part in a peasant uprising. Today we must take advantage of the tense political situation arising out of the government's campaign against the Zemstvo; tomorrow we may have to support popular indignation against some tsarist bashi-bazouk on the rampage and help, by means of boycott, indictment demonstrations, etc., to make things so hot for him as to force him into open retreat. Such a degree of combat readiness can be developed only through the constant activity of regular troops. If we join forces to produce a common newspaper, this work will train and bring into the foreground, not only the most skilful propagandists, but the most capable organisers, the most talented political party leaders capable, at the right moment, of releasing the slogan for the decisive struggle and of taking the lead in that struggle.

In conclusion, a few words to avoid possible misunderstanding. We have spoken continuously of systematic, planned preparation, yet it is by no means our intention to imply that the autocracy can be overthrown only by a regular siege or by organised assault. Such a view would be absurd and doctrinaire. On the contrary, it is quite possible, and historically much more probable, that the autocracy will collapse under the impact of one of the spontaneous outbursts or unforeseen political complications which constantly threaten it from all sides. But no political party that wishes to avoid adventurous gambles can base its activities on the anticipation of such outbursts and complications. We must go our own way, and we must steadfastly carry on our regular work, and the less our reliance on the unexpected, the less the chance of our being caught unawares by any "historic turns".

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What Is To Be done?

Burning Questions of Our Movement

(Extracts)

II THE SPONTANEITY OF THE MASSES AND THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

A. *The Beginning of the Spontaneous Upsurge*

In this connection it is particularly important to state the oft-forgotten (and comparatively little-known) fact that, although the *early* Social-Democrats of that period *zealously carried on economic agitation* (being guided in this activity

by the truly useful indications contained in the pamphlet *On Agitation*, then still in manuscript), they did not regard this as their sole task. On the contrary, from the very beginning they set for Russian Social-Democracy the most far-reaching historical tasks, in general, and the task of overthrowing the autocracy, in particular. Thus, towards the end of 1895, the St. Petersburg group of Social-Democrats, which founded the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, prepared the first issue of a newspaper called *Rabocheye Dyelo*. This issue was ready to go to press when it was seized by the gendarmes, on the night of December 8, 1895, in a raid on the house of one of the members of the group, Anatoly Alexeyevich Vaneyev,* so that the first edition of *Rabocheye Dyelo* was not destined to see the light of day. The leading article in this issue (which perhaps thirty years hence some *Russkaya Starina* will unearth in the archives of the Department of Police) outlined the historical tasks of the working class in Russia and placed the achievement of political liberty at their head. The issue also contained an article entitled "What Are Our Ministers Thinking About?" which dealt with the crushing of the elementary education committees by the police. In addition, there was some correspondence from St. Petersburg, and from other parts of Russia (e.g., a letter on the massacre of the workers in Yaroslavl Gubernia). This, "first effort", if we are not mistaken, of the Russian Social-Democrats of the nineties was not a purely local, or less still, "Economic", newspaper, but one that aimed to unite the strike movement with the revolutionary movement against the autocracy, and to win over to the side of Social-Democracy all who were oppressed by the policy of reactionary obscurantism. No one in the slightest degree acquainted with the state of the movement at that period could doubt that such a paper would have met with warm response among the workers of the capital and the revolutionary intelligentsia and would have had a wide circulation.

* A. A. Vaneyev died in Eastern Siberia in 1899 from consumption, which he contracted during solitary confinement in prison prior to his banishment. That is why we considered it possible to publish the above information, the authenticity of which we guarantee, for it comes from persons who were closely and directly acquainted with A. A. Vaneyev.

III TRADE-UNIONIST POLITICS AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC POLITICS

A. Political Agitation and Its Restriction by the Economists

Everyone knows that the economic* struggle of the Russian workers underwent widespread development and consolidation simultaneously with the production of "literature" exposing economic (factory and occupational) conditions. The "leaflets" were devoted mainly to the exposure of the factory system, and very soon a veritable passion for exposures was roused among the workers. As soon as the workers realised that the Social-Democratic study circles desired to, and could, supply them with a new kind of leaflet that told the whole truth about their miserable existence, about their unbearably hard toil, and their lack of rights, they began to send in, actually flood us with, correspondence from the factories and workshops. This "exposure literature" created a tremendous sensation, not only in the particular factory exposed in the given leaflet, but in all the factories to which news of the revealed facts spread. And since the poverty and want among the workers in the various enterprises and in the various trades are much the same, the "truth about the life of the workers" stirred *everyone*. Even among the most backward workers, a veritable passion arose to "get into print"—a noble passion for this rudimentary form of war against the whole of the present social system which is based upon robbery and oppression. And in the overwhelming majority of cases these "leaflets" were in truth a declaration of war, because the exposures served greatly to agitate the workers; they evoked among them common demands for the removal of the most glaring outrages and roused in them a readiness to support the demands with strikes. Finally, the employers themselves were compelled to recognise the significance of these leaflets as a declaration of war, so much so that in a large number of cases they did not even wait for the outbreak of hostilities. As is always the case, the mere publication of these exposures made them effective, and they acquired the significance of a strong moral influence. On more than one occasion, the mere appearance of a leaflet proved sufficient to secure the satisfaction of all or part of the demands put forward. In a word, economic (factory) exposures were and remain an important lever in the economic struggle. And they will continue to retain this significance as long as there is capitalism, which makes it necessary for the workers to defend themselves. Even in the most advanced countries of Europe it can still be seen that the exposure of abuses in some backward trade, or in some forgotten branch of

* To avoid misunderstanding, we must point out that here, and throughout this pamphlet, by economic struggle, we imply (in keeping with the accepted usage among us) the "practical economic struggle", which Engels, in the passage quoted above, described as "resistance to the capitalists", and which in free countries is known as the organised-labour, syndical, or trade-union struggle.

domestic industry, serves as a starting-point for the awakening of class-consciousness, for the beginning of a trade-union struggle, and for the spread of socialism.*

The overwhelming majority of Russian Social-Democrats have of late been almost entirely absorbed by this work of organising the exposure of factory conditions. Suffice it to recall *Rabochaya Mysl* to see the extent to which they have been absorbed by it—so much so, indeed, that they have lost sight of the fact that this, *taken by itself*, is in essence still not Social-Democratic work, but merely trade-union work. As a matter of fact, the exposures merely dealt with the relations between the workers in a given trade and their employers, and all they achieved was that the sellers of labour-power learned to sell their “commodity” on better terms and to fight the purchasers over a purely commercial deal. These exposures could have served (if properly utilised by an organisation of revolutionaries) as a beginning and a component part of Social-Democratic activity; but they could also have led (and, given a worshipful attitude towards spontaneity, were bound to lead) to a “purely trade-union” struggle and to a non-Social-Democratic working-class movement. Social-Democracy leads the struggle of the working class, not only for better terms for the sale of labour-power, but for the abolition of the social system that compels the propertyless to sell themselves to the rich. Social-Democracy represents the working class, not in its relation to a given group of employers alone, but in its relation to all classes of modern society and to the state as an organised political force. Hence, it follows that not only must Social-Democrats not confine themselves exclusively to the economic struggle, but that they must not allow the organisation of economic exposures to become the predominant part of their activities. We must take up actively the political education of the working class and the development of its political consciousness. Now that *Zarya* and *Iskra* have made the first attack upon Economism, “all are agreed” on this (although some agree only in words, as we shall soon see).

The question arises, what should political education consist in? Can it be confined to the propaganda of working-class hostility to the autocracy? Of course not. It is not enough to *explain* to the workers that they are politically

* In the present chapter we deal only with the *political* struggle, in its broader or narrower meaning. Therefore, we note only in passing, merely as a curiosity, *Rabocheye Dyelo's* charge that *Iskra* is “too restrained” in regard to the economic struggle (*Two Conferences*, p. 27, rehearsed by Martynov in his pamphlet, *Social-Democracy and the Working Class*). If the accusers computed by the hundredweights or reams (as they are so fond of doing) any given year's discussion of the economic struggle in the industrial section of *Iskra*, in comparison with the corresponding sections of *Rabocheye Dyelo* and *Rabochaya Mysl* combined, they would easily see that the latter lag behind even in this respect. Apparently, the realisation of this simple truth compels them to resort to arguments that clearly reveal their confusion. “*Iskra*”, they write, “willy-nilly [!] is compelled [!] to reckon with the imperative demands of life and to publish at least [!] correspondence about the working-class movement” (*Two Conferences*, p. 27). Now this is really a crushing argument!

oppressed (any more than it is *to explain* to them that their interests are antagonistic to the interests of the employers). Agitation must be conducted with regard to every concrete example of this oppression (as we have begun to carry on agitation round concrete examples of economic oppression). Inasmuch as *this* oppression affects the most diverse classes of society, inasmuch as it manifests itself in the most varied spheres of life and activity—vocational, civic, personal, family, religious, scientific, etc., etc.—is it not evident that *we shall not be fulfilling our task* of developing the political consciousness of the workers if we do not *undertake* the organisation of the *political exposure* of the autocracy *in all its aspects*? In order to carry on agitation round concrete instances of oppression, these instances must be exposed (as it is necessary to expose factory abuses in order to carry on economic agitation).

B. How Martynov Rendered Plekhanov More profound

The propagandist, dealing with, say, the question of unemployment, must explain the capitalistic nature of crises, the cause of their inevitability in modern society, the necessity for the transformation of this society into a socialist society, etc. In a word, he must present “many ideas”, so many, indeed, that they will be understood as an integral whole only by a (comparatively) few persons. The agitator, however, speaking on the same subject, will take as an illustration a fact that is most glaring and most widely known to his audience, say, the death of an unemployed worker’s family from starvation, the growing impoverishment, etc., and, utilising this fact, known to all, will direct his efforts to presenting a *single idea* to the “masses”, e.g., the senselessness of the contradiction between the increase of wealth and the increase of poverty; he will strive *to rouse* discontent and indignation among the masses against this crying injustice, leaving a more complete explanation of this contradiction to the propagandist. Consequently, the propagandist operates chiefly by means of the *printed* word; the agitator by means of the *spoken* word. The propagandist requires qualities different from those of the agitator.

C. Political Exposures and “Training in Revolutionary Activity”

In advancing against *Iskra* his theory of “raising the activity of the working masses”, Martynov actually betrayed an urge *to belittle* that activity, for he declared the very economic struggle before which all economists grovel to be the preferable, particularly important, and “most widely applicable” means of rousing this activity and its broadest field. This error is characteristic, precisely in that it is by no means peculiar to Martynov. In reality, it is possible to “raise the activity of the working masses” *only* when this activity is *not restricted* to “political agitation on an economic basis”. A basic condition for the necessary expansion of political agitation is the organisation of *comprehensive*

political exposure. *In no way* except by means of such exposures *can* the masses be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity. Hence, activity of this kind is one of the most important functions of international Social-Democracy as a whole, for even political freedom does not in any way eliminate exposures; it merely shifts somewhat their sphere of direction. Thus, the German party is especially strengthening its positions and spreading its influence, thanks particularly to the untiring energy with which it is conducting its campaign of political exposure. Working-class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to *all* cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter *what class* is affected—unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic point of view and no other. The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn, from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe *every* other social class in *all* the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* aspects of the life and activity of *all* classes, strata, and groups of the population. Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats; for the self-knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up, not solely with a fully clear theoretical understanding—it would be even truer to say, not so much with the theoretical as with the practical, understanding—of the relationships between *all* the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life. For this reason the conception of the economic struggle as the most widely applicable means of drawing the masses into the political movement, which our Economists preach, is so extremely harmful and reactionary in its practical significance. In order to become a Social-Democrat, the worker must have a clear picture in his mind of the economic nature and the social and political features of the landlord and the priest, the high state official and the peasant, the student and the vagabond; he must know their strong and weak points; he must grasp the meaning of all the catchwords and sophisms by which each class and each stratum *camouflages* its selfish strivings and its real “inner workings”; he must understand what interests are reflected by certain institutions and certain laws and how they are reflected. But this “clear picture” cannot be obtained from any book. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures that follow close upon what is going on about us at a given moment; upon what is being discussed, in whispers perhaps, by each one in his own way; upon what finds expression in such and such events, in such and such statistics, in such and such court sentences, etc., etc. These comprehensive political exposures are an essential and *fundamental* condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity.

Why do the Russian workers still manifest little revolutionary activity in response to the brutal treatment of the people by the police, the persecution

of religious sects, the flogging of peasants, the outrageous censorship, the torture of soldiers, the persecution of the most innocent cultural undertakings, etc? Is it because the "economic struggle" does not "stimulate" them to this, because such activity does not "promise palpable results", because it produces little that is "positive"? To adopt such an opinion, we repeat, is merely to direct the charge where it does not belong, to blame the working masses for one's own philistinism (or Bernsteinism). We must blame ourselves, our lagging behind the mass movement, for still being unable to organise sufficiently wide, striking, and rapid exposures of all the shameful outrages. When we do that (and we must and can do it), the most backward worker will understand, *or will feel*, that the students and religious sects, the peasants and the authors are being abused and outraged by those same dark forces that are oppressing and crushing him at every step of his life. Feeling that, he himself will be filled with an irresistible desire to react, and he will know how to hoot the censors one day, on another day to demonstrate outside the house of a governor who has brutally suppressed a peasant uprising, on still another day to teach a lesson to the gendarmes in surplices who are doing the work of the Holy Inquisition, etc. As yet we have done very little, almost nothing, *to bring* before the working masses prompt exposures on all possible issues. Many of us as yet do not recognise this as our *bounden duty* but trail spontaneously in the wake of the "drab everyday struggle", in the narrow confines of factory life. Under such circumstances to say that "*Iskra* displays a tendency to minimise the significance of the forward march of the drab everyday struggle in comparison with the propaganda of brilliant and complete ideas" (Martynov, op. cit., p. 61), means to drag the Party back, to defend and glorify our unpreparedness and backwardness.

As for calling the masses to action, that will come of itself as soon as energetic political agitation, live and striking exposures come into play. To catch some criminal red-handed and immediately to brand him publicly in all places is of itself far more effective than any number of "calls"; the effect very often is such as will make it impossible to tell exactly who it was that "called" upon the masses and who suggested this or that plan of demonstration, etc. Calls for action, not in the general, but in the concrete, sense of the term can be made only at the place of action; only those who themselves go into action, and do so immediately, can sound such calls. Our business as Social-Democratic publicists is to deepen, expand, and intensify political exposures and political agitation.

A word in passing about "calls to action". *The only newspaper* which prior to the spring events *called upon* the workers to intervene actively in a matter that certainly did not *promise* any *palpable results* whatever for the workers, i.e., the drafting of the students into the army, *was Iskra*. Immediately after the publication of the order of January 11, on "drafting the 183 students into the army", *Iskra* published an article on the matter (in its February issue, No. 2), and, *before* any demonstration was begun, forthwith *called upon* "the workers to go to the aid of the students", called upon the "people" openly

to take up the government's arrogant challenge. We ask: how is the remarkable fact to be explained that although Martynov talks so much about "calls to action", and even suggests "calls to action" as a special form of activity, he said not a word about *this* call? After this, was it not sheer philistinism on Martynov's part to allege that *Iskra* was *one-sided* because it did not issue sufficient "calls" to struggle for demands "promising palpable results"?

Our Economists, including *Rabocheye Dyelo*, were successful because they adapted themselves to the backward workers. But the Social-Democratic worker, the revolutionary worker (and the number of such workers is growing) will indignantly reject all this talk about struggle for demands "promising palpable results", etc., because he will understand that this is only a variation of the old song about adding a kopek to the ruble. Such a worker will say to his counsellors from *Rabochaya Mysl* and *Rabocheye Dyelo*: you are busying yourselves in vain, gentlemen, and shirking your proper duties, by meddling with such excessive zeal in a job that we can very well manage ourselves. There is nothing clever in your assertion that the Social-Democrat's task is to lend the economic struggle itself a political character; that is only the beginning, it is not the main task of the Social-Democrats. For all over the world, including Russia, *the police themselves often take the initiative in lending the economic struggle a political character*, and the workers themselves learn to understand whom the government supports.* The "economic struggle of the workers against the employers and the government", about which you make as much fuss as if you had discovered a new America, is being waged in all parts of Russia, even the most remote, by the workers themselves who have heard about strikes, but who have heard almost nothing about socialism. The "activity" you want to stimulate among us workers, by advancing concrete demands that promise palpable results, we are already displaying and in our everyday, limited trade-union work we put forward these concrete demands, very often without any assistance whatever from the intellectuals. But *such* activity is not

* The demand "to lend the economic struggle itself a political character" most strikingly expresses *subservience to spontaneity* in the sphere of political activity. Very often the economic struggle *spontaneously* assumes a political character, that is to say, without the intervention of the "revolutionary bacilli—the intelligentsia", without the intervention of the class-conscious Social-Democrats. The economic struggle of the English workers, for instance, also assumed a political character without any intervention on the part of the socialists. The task of the Social-Democrats, however, is not exhausted by political agitation on an economic basis; their task is *to convert* trade-unionist politics into Social-Democratic political struggle, *to utilise* the sparks of political consciousness which the economic struggle generates among the workers, for the purpose of *raising* the workers to the level of *Social-Democratic* political consciousness. The Martynovs, however, instead of raising and stimulating the spontaneously awakening political consciousness of the workers, *bow to spontaneity* and repeat over and over *ad nauseam*, that the economic struggle "impels" the workers to realise their own lack of political rights. It is unfortunate, gentlemen, that the spontaneously awakening trade-unionist political consciousness does not "*impel*" you to an understanding of your Social-Democratic tasks.

enough for us; we are not children to be fed on the thin gruel of "economic" politics alone; we want to know everything that others know, we want to learn the details of *all* aspects of political life and to take part *actively* in every single political event. In order that we may do this, the intellectuals must talk to us less of what we already know* and tell us more about what we do not yet know and what we can never learn from our factory and "economic" experience, namely, political knowledge. You intellectuals can acquire this knowledge, and it is your *duty* to bring it to us in a hundred- and a thousand-fold greater measure than you have done up to now; and you must bring it to us, not only in the form of discussions, pamphlets, and articles (which very often—pardon our frankness—are rather dull), but precisely in the form of vivid *exposures* of what our government and our governing classes are doing at this very moment in all spheres of life. Devote more zeal to carrying out this duty and *talk less about "raising the activity of the working masses"*. We are far more active than you think, and we are quite able to support, by open street fighting, even demands that do not promise any "palpable results" whatever. It is not for you to "raise" our activity, because *activity is precisely the thing you yourselves lack*. Bow less in subservience to spontaneity, and think more about raising *your own* activity, gentlemen!

E. The Working Class as Vanguard Fighter for Democracy

The press long ago became a power in our country, otherwise the government would not spend tens of thousands of rubles to bribe it and to subsidise the Katkovs and Meshcherskys. And it is no novelty in autocratic Russia for the underground press to break through the wall of censorship and *compel* the legal and conservative press to speak openly of it. This was the case in the seventies and even in the fifties. How much broader and deeper are now the sections of the people willing to read the illegal underground press, and to learn from it "how to live and how to die", to use the expression of a worker who sent a letter to *Iskra* (No. 7). Political exposures are as much a declaration of war against the *government* as economic exposures are a declaration of war

* To prove that this imaginary speech of a worker to an Economist is based on fact, we shall refer to two witnesses who undoubtedly have direct knowledge of the working-class movement and who are least of all inclined to be partial towards us "doctrinaires"; for one witness is an Economist (who regards even *Rabocheye Dyelo* as a political organ!), and the other is a terrorist. The first witness is the author of a remarkably truthful and vivid article entitled "The St. Petersburg Working-Class Movement and the Practical Tasks of Social-Democracy", published in *Rabocheye Dyelo*, No. 6. He divides the workers into the following categories: (1) class-conscious revolutionaries; (2) intermediate stratum; (3) the remaining masses. The intermediate stratum, he says, "is often more interested in questions of political life than in its own immediate economic interests, the connection between which and the general social conditions it has long

against the factory owners. The moral significance of this declaration of war sure will be and the more numerous and determined the social *class* that has *declared war in order to begin the war*. Hence, political exposures in themselves serve as a powerful instrument for *disintegrating* the system we oppose, as a means for diverting from the enemy his casual or temporary allies, as a means for spreading hostility and distrust among the permanent partners of the autocracy.

In our time only a party that will *organise* really *nation-wide* exposures can become the vanguard of the revolutionary forces. The word "nation-wide" has a very profound meaning. The overwhelming majority of the non-working-class expositors (be it remembered that in order to become the vanguard, we must attract other classes) are sober politicians and level-headed men of affairs. They know perfectly well how dangerous it is to "complain" even against a minor official, let alone against the "omnipotent" Russian Government. And they will come *to us* with their complaints only when they see that these complaints can really have effect, and that we represent *a political force*. In order to become such a force in the eyes of outsiders, much persistent and stubborn work is required *to raise* our own consciousness, initiative, and energy. To accomplish this it is not enough to attach a "vanguard" label to rearguard theory and practice.

IV THE PRIMITIVENESS OF THE ECONOMISTS AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

F. Local and All-Russian Work

The objections raised against the plan of organisation here outlined on the grounds that it is undemocratic and conspiratorial are totally unsound. Nevertheless, there remains a question which is frequently put and which deserves detailed examination. This is the question of the relations between local work and all-Russian work. Fears are expressed that the formation of a centralised

understood" . . . *Rabochaya Mysl* "is sharply criticised": "It keeps on repeating the same thing over and over again, things we have long known, read long ago." "Again nothing in the political review!" (pp. 30-31). But even the third stratum, "the younger and more sensitive section of the workers, less corrupted by the tavern and the church, who hardly ever have the opportunity of getting hold of political literature, discuss political events in a rambling way and ponder over the fragmentary news they get about student riots", etc. The terrorist writes as follows: "... They read over once or twice the petty details of factory life in other towns, not their own, and then they read no more . . . dull, they find it . . . To say nothing in a workers' paper about the government . . . is to regard the workers as being little children. . . . The workers are not little children" (*Swoboda*, published by the Revolutionary-Socialist Group, pp. 69-70).

organisation may shift the centre of gravity from the former to the latter, damage the movement through weakening our contacts with the working masses and the continuity of local agitation generally. To these fears we reply that our movement in the past few years has suffered precisely from the fact that local workers have been too absorbed in local work; that therefore it is absolutely necessary to shift the centre of gravity somewhat to national work; and that, far from weakening, this would strengthen our ties and the continuity of our local agitation. Let us take the question of central and local newspapers. I would ask the reader not to forget that we cite the publication of newspapers only as *an example* illustrating an immeasurably broader and more varied revolutionary activity in general.

In the first period of the mass movement (1896-98), an attempt was made by local revolutionary workers to publish an all-Russian paper—*Rabochaya Gazeta*. In the next period (1898-1900), the movement made an enormous stride forward, but the attention of the leaders was wholly absorbed by local publications. If we compute the total number of the local papers that were published, we shall find that on the average one issue per month was published.* Does this not clearly illustrate our amateurism? Does this not clearly show that our revolutionary organisation lags behind the spontaneous growth of the movement? If *the same number* of issues had been published, not by scattered local groups, but by a single organisation, we would not only have saved an enormous amount of effort, but we would have secured immeasurably greater stability and continuity in our work. This simple point is frequently lost sight of by those practical workers who work *actively* and almost exclusively on local publications (unfortunately this is true even now in the overwhelming majority of cases), as well as by the publicists who display an astonishing quixotism on this question. The practical workers usually rest content with the argument that “it is difficult”** for local workers to engage in the organisation of an all-Russian newspaper, and that local newspapers are better than no newspapers at all. This argument is, of course, perfectly just, and we, no less than any practical worker, appreciate the enormous importance and usefulness of local newspapers *in general*. But not this is the point. The point is, can we not overcome the fragmentation and primitiveness that are so glaringly expressed in the thirty issues of local newspapers that have been published throughout Russia in the course of two and a half years? Do not restrict yourselves to the indisputable, but too general, statement about the usefulness of local newspapers generally; have the courage frankly to admit their negative aspects revealed by the experience of two and a half years. This experience has shown that

* See *Report to the Paris Congress*, p. 14. “From that time (1897) to the spring of 1900, thirty issues of various papers were published in various places . . . On an average, over one issue per month was published.”

** This difficulty is more apparent than real. In fact, *there is not* a single local study circle that lacks the opportunity of taking up some function or other in connection with all-Russian work. “Don’t say, I can’t; say, I won’t.”

under the conditions in which we work, these local newspapers prove, in the majority of cases, to be unstable in their principles, devoid of political significance, extremely costly in regard to expenditure of revolutionary forces, and totally unsatisfactory from a technical point of view (I have in mind, of course, not the technique of printing, but the frequency and regularity of publication). These defects are not accidental; they are the inevitable outcome of the fragmentation which, on the one hand, explains the predominance of local newspapers in the period under review, and, on the other, is *fostered* by this predominance. It is positively *beyond the strength* of a separate local organisation to raise its newspaper to the level of a political organ maintaining stability of principles; it is *beyond its strength* to collect and utilise sufficient material to shed light on the whole of our political life. The argument usually advanced to support the need for numerous local newspapers in free countries that the cost of printing by local workers is low and that the people can be kept more fully and quickly informed—this *argument*, as experience has shown, speaks *against* local newspapers in Russia. They turn out to be excessively costly in regard to the expenditure of revolutionary forces, and appear *very* rarely, for the simple reason that the publication of an *illegal* newspaper, however small its size, requires an extensive secret apparatus, such as is possible with large-scale factory production; for this apparatus cannot be created in a small, handicraft workshop. Very frequently, the primitiveness of the secret apparatus (every practical worker can cite numerous cases) enables the police to take advantage of the publication and distribution of one or two issues to make *mass* arrests, which result in such a clean sweep that it becomes necessary to start all over again. A well-organised secret apparatus requires professionally well-trained revolutionaries and a division of labour applied with the greatest consistency, but both these requirements are beyond the strength of a separate local organisation, however strong it may be at any given moment. Not only the general interests of our movement as a whole (training of the workers in consistent socialist and political principles) but also specifically local interests are *better served by non-local newspapers*. This may seem paradoxical at first sight, but it has been proved to the hilt by the two and a half years of experience referred to. Everyone will agree that had all the local forces that were engaged in the publication of the thirty issues of newspapers worked on a single newspaper, sixty, if not a hundred, issues could easily have been published, with a fuller expression, in consequence, of all the specifically local features of the movement. True, it is no easy matter to attain such a degree of organisation, but we must realise the need for it. Every local study circle must think about it and *work actively* to achieve it, without waiting for an impetus from outside, without being tempted by the popularity and closer proximity of a local newspaper which, as our revolutionary experience has shown, proves to a large extent to be illusory.

And it is a bad service indeed those publicists render to the practical work who, thinking themselves particularly close to the practical workers, fail

to see this illusoriness, and make shift with the astoundingly hollow and cheap argument that we must have local newspapers, we must have district newspapers, and we must have all-Russian newspapers. Generally speaking, of course, all these are necessary, but once the solution of a concrete organisational problem is undertaken, surely time and circumstances must be taken into consideration. Is it not quixotic for *Svoboda* (No. 1, p. 68) to write in a special article "dealing with the question of a newspaper": "It seems to us that every locality, with any appreciable number of workers, should have its own workers' newspaper; not a newspaper imported from somewhere, but its very own." If the publicist who wrote these words refuses to think of their meaning, then at least the reader may do it for him. How many scores, if not hundreds, of "localities with any appreciable number of workers" there are in Russia, and what a perpetuation of our amateurish methods this would mean if indeed every local organisation set about publishing its own newspaper! How this diffusion would facilitate the gendarmerie's task of netting—and without "any appreciable" effort—the local revolutionary workers at the very outset of their activity and of preventing them from developing into real revolutionaries. A reader of an all-Russian newspaper, continues the author, would find little interest in the descriptions of the malpractices of the factory owners and the "details of factory life in various towns not his own". But "an inhabitant of Orel would not find Orel affairs dull reading. In every issue he would learn who had been 'picked for a lambasting' and who had been 'flayed', and he would be in high spirits" (p. 69). Certainly, the Orel reader is in high spirits, but our publicist's flights of imagination are also high—too high. He should have asked himself whether such concern with trivialities is tactically in order. We are second to none in appreciating the importance and necessity of factory exposures, but it must be borne in mind that we have reached a stage when St. Petersburg folk find it dull reading the St. Petersburg correspondence of the St. Petersburg *Rabochaya Mysl*. Leaflets are the medium through which local factory exposures have always been and must continue to be made, but we must raise the level of the newspaper, not lower it to the level of a factory leaflet. What we ask of a newspaper is not so much "petty" exposures, as exposures of the major, typical evils of factory life, exposures based on especially striking facts and capable, therefore, of arousing the interest of *all* workers and all leaders of the movement, of really enriching their knowledge, broadening their outlook, and serving as a starting-point for awakening new districts and workers from ever-newer trade areas.

"Moreover, in a local newspaper, all the malpractices of the factory administration and other authorities may be denounced then and there. In the case of a general, distant newspaper, however, by the time the news reaches it the facts will have been forgotten in the source localities. The reader, on getting the paper, will exclaim: 'When was that—who remembers it?'" (ibid.). Precisely—who remembers it! From the same source we learn that the 30 issues of newspapers which appeared in the course of two and a half years were

published in six cities. This averages *one issue per city per half-year!* And even if our frivolous publicist *trebled* his estimate of the productivity of local work (which would be wrong in the case of an average town, since it is impossible to increase productivity to any considerable extent by our rule-of-thumb methods), we would still get only one issue every two months, i.e., nothing at all like "denouncing then and there". It would suffice, however, for ten local organisations to combine and send their delegates to take an active part in organising a general newspaper, to enable us every fortnight to "denounce", *over the whole of Russia*, not petty, but really outstanding and typical evils. No one who knows the state of affairs in our organisations can have the slightest doubt on that score. As for catching the enemy red-handed—if we mean it seriously and not merely as a pretty phrase—that is quite beyond the ability of an illegal paper generally. It can be done only by a leaflet, because the time limit for exposures of that nature can be a day or two at the most (e.g., the usual brief strikes, violent factory clashes, demonstrations, etc.).

"The workers live not only at the factory, but also in the city," continues our author, rising from the particular to the general, with a strict consistency that would have done honour to Boris Krichevsky himself; and he refers to matters like municipal councils, municipal hospitals, municipal schools, and demands that workers' newspapers should not ignore municipal affairs in general.

This demand—excellent in itself—serves as a particularly vivid illustration of the empty abstraction to which discussions of local newspapers are all too frequently limited. In the first place, if indeed newspapers appeared "in every locality with any appreciable number of workers" with such detailed information on municipal affairs as *Svoboda* desires, this would, under our Russian conditions, inevitably degenerate into actual concern with trivialities, lead to a weakening of the consciousness of the importance of an all-Russian revolutionary assault upon the tsarist autocracy, and strengthen the extremely virile shoots—not uprooted but rather hidden or temporarily suppressed—of the tendency that has become noted as a result of the famous remark about revolutionaries who talk a great deal about non-existent parliaments and too little about existent municipal councils. We say "inevitably", in order to emphasise that *Svoboda* obviously does not desire this, but the contrary, to come about. But good intentions are not enough. For municipal affairs to be dealt with in their proper perspective, in relation to our entire work, this perspective must *first* be clearly conceived, firmly established, not only by argument, but by numerous examples, so that it may acquire the stability of a *tradition*. This is still far from being the case with us. Yet this must be done first, before we can allow ourselves to think and talk about an extensive local press.

Secondly, to write really well and interestingly about municipal affairs, one must have first-hand knowledge, not book knowledge, of the issues. But there are hardly any Social-Democrats *anywhere in Russia* who possess such know-

ledge. To be able to write in newspapers (not in popular pamphlets) about municipal and state affairs, one must have fresh and varied material gathered and written up by able people. And in order to be able to gather and write up such material, we must have something more than the "primitive democracy" of a primitive circle, in which everybody does everything and all entertain themselves by playing at referendums. It is necessary to have a staff of expert writers and correspondents, an army of Social-Democratic reporters who establish contacts far and wide, who are able to fathom all sorts of "state secrets" (the knowledge of which makes the Russian government official so puffed up, but the blabbing of which is such an easy matter to him), who are able to penetrate "behind the scenes" — an army of people who must, as their "official duty" be ubiquitous and omniscient. And we, the Party that fights against all economic, political, social, and national oppression, can and must find, gather, train, mobilise, and set into motion such an army of omniscient people—all of which requires still to be done. Not only has not a single step in this direction been taken in the overwhelming majority of localities, but even the *recognition* of its necessity is very often lacking. One will search in vain in our Social-Democratic press for lively and interesting articles, correspondence, and exposures dealing with our big and little affairs—diplomatic, military, ecclesiastical, municipal, financial, etc., etc., There is *almost nothing*, or very little, about these matters.* That is why "it always annoys me frightfully when a man comes to me, utters beautiful and charming words" about the need for newspapers in "every locality with any appreciable number of workers" that will expose factory, municipal, and government evils.

The predominance of the local papers over a central press may be a sign of either poverty or luxury. Of poverty, when the movement has not yet developed the forces for largescale production, continues to flounder in amateurism, and is all but swamped with "the petty details of factory life". Of luxury, when the movement *has fully mastered* the task of comprehensive exposure and comprehensive agitation, and it becomes necessary to publish numerous local newspapers in addition to the central organ. Let each decide for himself what the predominance of local newspapers implies in present-day Russia. I shall limit myself to a precise formulation of my own conclusion, to leave no grounds for misunderstanding. Hitherto, the majority of our local organisations have thought almost exclusively in terms of local newspapers,

* That is why even examples of exceptionally good local newspapers fully confirm our point of view. For example, *Yuzhny Rabochy* is an excellent newspaper, entirely free of instability of principle. But it has been unable to provide what it desired for the local movement, owing to the infrequency of its publication and to extensive police raids. Principled presentation of the fundamental questions of the movement and wide political agitation, which our Party most urgently requires at the present time, has proved too big a job for the local newspaper. The material of particular value it has published, like the articles on the mine owners' convention and on unemployment, was not strictly local material, *it was required for the whole of Russia*, not for the South alone. No such articles have appeared in any of our Social-Democratic newspapers.

and have devoted almost all their activities to this work. This is abnormal; the very opposite should have been the case. The majority of the local organisations should think principally of the publication of an all-Russian newspaper and devote their activities chiefly to it. Until this is done, we shall *not* be able to establish a *single* newspaper capable, to any degree, of serving the movement with *comprehensive* press agitation. When this is done, however, normal relations between the necessary central newspaper and the necessary local newspapers will be established automatically.

It would seem at first glance that the conclusion on the necessity for shifting the centre of gravity from local to all-Russian work does not apply to the sphere of the specifically economic struggle. In this struggle, the immediate enemies of the workers are the individual employers or groups of employers, who are not bound by any organisation having even the remotest resemblance to the purely military, strictly centralised organisation of the Russian Government—our immediate enemy in the political struggle—which is led in all its minutest details by a single will.

But that is not the case. As we have repeatedly pointed out, the economic struggle is a trade struggle, and for that reason it requires that the workers be organised according to trades, not only according to place of employment. Organisation by trades becomes all the more urgently necessary, the more rapidly our employers organise in all sorts of companies and syndicates. Our fragmentation and our amateurism are an outright hindrance to this work of organisation which requires the existence of a single, all-Russian body of revolutionaries capable of giving leadership to the all-Russian trade unions. We have described above the type of organisation that is needed for this purpose; we shall now add but a few words on the question of our press in this connection.

Hardly anyone will doubt the necessity for every Social-Democratic newspaper to have a *special department* devoted to the trade-union (economic) struggle. But the growth of the trade-union movement compels us to think about the creation of a trade-union press. It seems to us, however, that with rare exceptions, there can be no question of trade-union newspapers in Russia at the present time; they would be a luxury, and many a time we lack even our daily bread. The form of trade-union press that would suit the conditions of our illegal work and is already required at the present time is *trade-union pamphlets*. In these pamphlets, *legal** and illegal material should be

* Legal material is particularly important in this connection, and we are particularly behind in our ability to gather and utilise it systematically. It would not be an exaggeration to say that one could somehow compile a trade-union pamphlet on the basis solely of legal material, but it could not be done on the basis of illegal material alone. In gathering illegal material from workers on questions like those dealt with in the publications of *Rabochaya Mysl*, we waste a great deal of the efforts of revolutionaries (whose place in this work could very easily be taken by legal workers), and yet we never obtain good material. The reason is that a worker who very often knows only a single department of a large factory and almost always the economic results, but not the

gathered and grouped systematically, on the working conditions in a given trade, on the differences in this respect in the various parts of Russia; on the main demands advanced by the workers in the given trade; on the inadequacies of legislation affecting that trade; on outstanding instances of economic struggle by the workers in the trade; on the beginnings, the present state, and the requirements of their trade-union organisation, etc. Such pamphlets would, in the first place, relieve our Social-Democratic press of a mass of trade details that are of interest only to workers in the given trade. Secondly, they would record the results of our experience in the trade-union struggle, they would preserve the gathered material, which now literally gets lost in a mass of leaflets and fragmentary correspondence; and they would summarise this material. Thirdly, they could serve as guides for agitators, because working conditions change relatively slowly and the main demands of the workers in a given trade are extremely stable (cf. for example, the demands advanced by the weavers in the Moscow district in 1885 and in the St. Petersburg district in 1896). A compilation of such demands and needs might serve for years as an excellent handbook for agitators on economic questions in backward localities or among the backward strata of the workers. Examples of successful strikes in a given region, information on higher living standards, of improved working conditions, in one locality, would encourage the workers in other localities to take up the fight again and again. Fourthly, having made a start in generalising the trade-union struggle and in this way strengthening the link between the Russian trade-union movement and socialism, the Social-Democrats would at the same time see to it that our trade-union work occupied neither too small nor too large a place in our Social-Democratic work as a whole. A local organisation that is cut off from organisations in other towns finds it very difficult, sometimes almost impossible, to maintain a correct sense of proportion (the example of *Rabochaya Mysl* shows what a monstrous exaggeration can be made in the direction of trade-unionism). But an all-Russian organisation of revolutionaries that stands undeviatingly on the basis of Marxism, that leads the entire political struggle and possesses a staff of professional agitators, will never find it difficult to determine the proper proportion.

general conditions and standards of his work, cannot acquire the knowledge which is possessed by the office staff of a factory, by inspectors, doctors, etc., and which is scattered in petty newspaper reports and in special industrial, medical, Zemstvo, and other publications.

I vividly recall my "first experiment", which I would never like to repeat. I spent many weeks "examining" a worker, who would often visit me, regarding every aspect of the conditions prevailing in the enormous factory at which he was employed. True, after great effort, I managed to obtain material for a description (of the one single factory!), but at the end of the interview the worker would wipe the sweat from his brow, and say to me smilingly: "I find it easier to work overtime than to answer your questions."

The more energetically we carry on our revolutionary struggle, the more the government will be compelled to legalise part of the "trade-union" work, thereby relieving us of part of our burden.

V THE "PLAN" FOR AN ALL-RUSSIAN POLITICAL NEWSPAPER

"The most serious blunder *Iskra* committed in this connection," writes B. Krichevsky (*Rabocheye Dyelo*, No. 10, p. 30), charging us with a tendency to "convert theory into a lifeless doctrine by isolating it from practice", "was its 'plan' for a general party organisation" (viz., the article entitled "Where To Begin". Martynov echoes this idea in declaring that "*Iskra's* tendency to belittle the significance of the forward march of the drab everyday struggle in comparison with the propaganda of brilliant and completed ideas . . . was crowned with the plan for the organisation of a party which it sets forth in the article entitled 'Where To Begin' in issue No. 4" (ibid., p. 61). Finally, L. Nadezhdin has of late joined in the chorus of indignation against this "plan" (the quotation marks were meant to express sarcasm). In his pamphlet, which we have just received, entitled *The Eve of the Revolution* (published by the "Revolutionary-Socialist Group" *Svoboda*, whose acquaintance we have made), he declares (p. 126): "To speak now of an organisation held together by an all-Russian newspaper means propagating armchair ideas and armchair work" and represents a manifestation of "bookishness", etc.

That our terrorist turns out to be in agreement with the champions of the "forward march of the drab everyday struggle" is not surprising, since we have traced the roots of this intimacy between them in the chapters on politics and organisation. But we must draw attention here to the fact that Nadezhdin is the only one who has conscientiously tried to grasp the train of thought in an article he disliked and has made an attempt to reply to the point, whereas *Rabocheye Dyelo* has said nothing that is material to the subject, but has tried merely to confuse the question by a series of unseemly, demagogic sallies. Unpleasant though the task may be, we must first spend some time in cleansing this Augean stable.

A. Who was Offended by the Article "Where to Begin"

Let us present a small selection of the expletives and exclamations that *Rabocheye Dyelo* hurled at us. "It is not a newspaper that can create a party organisation, but vice versa . . ." "A newspaper, standing *above* the party, *outside of its control*, and independent of it, thanks to its having its own staff of agents . . ." "By what miracle has *Iskra* forgotten about the actually existing Social-Democratic organisations of the party to which it belongs? . . ." "Those who possess firm principles and a corresponding plan are the supreme regulators of the real struggle of the party and dictate to it their plan . . ." "The plan drives our active and virile organisations into the kingdom of shadows and desires to call into being a fantastic network of agents . . ." "Were *Iskra's* plan carried into effect, every trace of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which is taking shape, would be obliterated . . ." "A propagandist organ becomes an uncontrolled autocratic law-maker for the entire practical revolu-

tionary struggle . . ." "How should our Party react to the suggestion that it be *completely* subordinated to an autonomous editorial board?", etc., etc.

As the reader can see from the contents and the tone of these above quotations, *Rabocheye Dyelo* has taken offence. Offence, not for its own sake, but for the sake of the organisations and committees of our Party which it alleges *Iskra* desires to drive into the kingdom of shadows and whose very traces it would obliterate. How terrible! But a curious thing should be noted. The article "Where To Begin" appeared in May 1901. The articles in *Rabocheye Dyelo* appeared in September 1901. Now we are in mid-January 1902. During these five months (prior to and after September), *not a single* committee and *not a single* organisation of the Party protested formally against this monster that seeks to drive them into the kingdom of shadows; and yet scores and hundreds of communications from all parts of Russia have appeared during this period in *Iskra*, as well as in numerous local and non-local publications. How could it happen that those who would be driven into the realm of shadows are not aware of it and have not taken offence, though a third party has?

The explanation is that the committees and other organisations are engaged in real work and are not playing at "democracy". The committees read the article "Where To Begin", saw that it represented an attempt "to elaborate a definite plan for an organisation, so that its formation may be undertaken from all aspects"; and since they knew and saw very well that *not one* of these "sides" would dream of "setting about to build it" until it was convinced of its necessity, and of the correctness of the architectural plan, it has naturally never occurred to them to take offence at the boldness of the people who said in *Iskra*: "In view of the pressing importance of the question, we, on our part, take the liberty of submitting to the comrades a skeleton plan to be developed in greater detail in a pamphlet now in preparation for the print". With a conscientious approach to the work, was it possible to view things otherwise than that if the comrades *accepted* the plan submitted to them, they would carry it out, not because they are "subordinate", but because they would be convinced of its necessity for our common cause, and that if they *did not accept it*, then the "skeleton" (a pretentious word, is it not?) would remain merely a skeleton? Is it not demagoguery to fight against the skeleton of a plan, not only by "picking it to pieces" and advising comrades to reject it, but by *inciting* people inexperienced in revolutionary matters against its authors *merely on the grounds* that they *dare* to "legislate" and come out as the "supreme regulators", i.e., because they *dare to propose* an outline of a plan? Can our Party develop and make progress if an attempt *to raise* local functionaries to broader views, tasks, plans, etc., is objected to, not only with the claim that these views are erroneous, but on the grounds that the very "desire" *to "raise"* us gives "offense"? Nadezhdin, too, "picked" our plan "to pieces", but he did not sink to such demagoguery as cannot be explained solely by naïveté or by primitiveness of political views. From the outset, he emphatically rejected the charge that we intended to establish an "inspectorship over the Party". That is why Nadezhdin's criticism

of the plan can and should be answered on its merits, while *Rabocheye Dyelo* deserves only to be treated with contempt.

But contempt for a writer who sinks so low as to shout about "autocracy" and "subordination" does not relieve us of the duty of disentangling the confusion that such people create in the minds of their readers. Here we can clearly demonstrate to the world the nature of catchwords like "broad democracy". We are accused of forgetting the committees, of desiring or attempting to drive them into the kingdom of shadows, etc. How can we reply to these charges when, out of considerations of secrecy, we *can give* the reader *almost no facts* regarding our real relationships with the committees? Persons hurling vehement accusations calculated to provoke the crowd prove to be ahead of us because of their brazenness and their disregard of the duty of a revolutionary to conceal carefully from the eyes of the world the relationships and contacts which he maintains, which he is establishing or trying to establish. Naturally, we refuse once and for all to compete with such people in the field of "democratism". As to the reader who is not initiated in all Party affairs, the only way in which we can discharge our duty to him is to acquaint him, not with what is and what is *im Werden* but with *a particle* of what has taken place and what may be told as a thing of the past.

The Bund hints that we are "impostors"*; the Union Abroad accuses us of attempting to obliterate all traces of the Party. Gentlemen, you will get complete satisfaction when we relate to the public *four facts* concerning the past.

First fact.** The members of one of the Leagues of Struggle, who took a direct part in founding our Party and in sending a delegate to the Inaugural Party Congress, reached agreement with a member of the *Iskra* group regarding the publication of a series of books for workers that were to serve the entire movement. The attempt to publish the series failed, and the pamphlets written for it, *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* and *The New Factory Law*, by a circuitous course and through the medium of third parties, found their way abroad, where they were published.

Second fact. Members of the Central Committee of the Bund approached a member of the *Iskra* group with the proposal to organise what the Bund then described as a "literary laboratory". In making the proposal, they stated that unless this was done, the movement would greatly retrogress. The result of these negotiations was the appearance of the pamphlet *The Working-Class Cause in Russia****

* *Iskra*, No. 8. The reply of the Central Committee of the General Jewish Union of Russia and Poland to our article on the national question.

** We deliberately refrain from relating these facts in the sequence of their occurrence.

*** The author requests me to state that, like his previous pamphlets, this one was sent to the Union Abroad on the assumption that its publications were edited by the Emancipation of Labour group (owing to certain circumstances, he could not then—February 1899—know of the change in editorship). The pamphlet will be republished by the League at an early date.

Third fact. The Central Committee of the Bund, via a provincial town, approached a member of the *Iskra* group with the proposal that he undertake the editing of the revived *Rabochaya Gazeta* and, of course, obtained his consent. The offer was later modified: the comrade in question was invited to act as a contributor, in view of a new plan for the composition of the Editorial Board. Also this proposal, of course, obtained his consent. Articles were sent (which we managed to preserve): "Our Programme", which was a direct protest against Bernsteinism, against the change in the line of the legal literature and of *Rabochaya Mysl*; "Our Immediate Task" ("to publish a Party organ that shall appear regularly and have close contacts with all the local groups"; the drawbacks of the prevailing "amateurism"); "An Urgent Question" (an examination of the objection that it is necessary *first* to develop the activities of local groups before undertaking the publication of a common organ; an insistence on the paramount importance of a "revolutionary organisation" and on the necessity of "developing organisation, discipline, and the technique of secrecy to the highest degree of perfection"). The proposal to resume publication of *Rabochaya Gazeta* was not carried out, and the articles were not published.

Fourth fact. A member of the committee that was organising the second regular congress of our Party communicated to a member of the *Iskra* group the programme of the congress and proposed that group as editorial board of the revived *Rabochaya Gazeta*. This preliminary step, as it were, was later sanctioned by the committee to which this member belonged, and by the Central Committee of the Bund. The *Iskra* group was notified of the place and time of the congress and (uncertain of being able, for certain reasons, to send a delegate) drew up a written report for the congress. In the report, the idea was suggested that the mere election of a Central Committee would not only fail to solve the question of unification at a time of such complete disorder as the present, but would even compromise the grand idea of establishing a party in the event of an early, swift, and thorough police round-up, which was more than likely in view of the prevailing lack of secrecy; that therefore, a beginning should be made by inviting all committees and all other organisations to support the revived common organ, which would establish *real* contacts between all the committees and *really* train a group of leaders for the entire movement; and that the committees and the Party would very easily be able to transform such a group into a Central Committee as soon as the group had grown and become strong. In consequence of a number of police raids and arrests, however, the congress could not take place. For security reasons the report was destroyed, having been read only by a few comrades, including the representatives of one committee.

Let the reader now judge for himself the character of the methods employed by the Bund in hinting that we were impostors, or by *Rabocheye Dyelo*, which accuses us of trying to relegate the committees to the kingdom of shadows and to "substitute" for the organisation of a party an organisation disseminating

the ideas advocated by a single newspaper. It was to the committees, *on their repeated invitation*, that we reported on the necessity for adopting a definite plan of concerted activities. It was precisely for the Party organisation that we elaborated this plan, in articles sent to *Rabochaya Gazeta*, and in the report to the Party congress, again on the invitation of those who held such an influential position in the Party that they took the initiative in its (actual) restoration. Only after the *twice* repeated attempts of the Party organisation, *in conjunction with ourselves*, officially to revive the central organ of the Party had failed, did we consider it our bounden duty to publish an *unofficial* organ, in order that with the *third* attempt the comrades might have before them the results of *experience* and not merely conjectural proposals. Now certain results of this experience are present for all to see, and all comrades may now judge whether we properly understood our duties and what should be thought of people that strive to mislead those unacquainted with the immediate past, simply because they are piqued at our having pointed out to some their inconsistency on the "national" question, and to others the inadmissibility of their vacillation in matters of principle.

B. Can a Newspaper be a Collective Organiser?

The quintessence of the article "Where To Begin" consists in the fact that it discusses *precisely* this question and gives an affirmative reply to it. As far as we know, the only attempt to examine this question on its merits and to prove that it must be answered in the negative was made by L. Nadezhdin, whose argument we reproduce in full:

"... It pleased us greatly to see *Iskra* (No. 4) present the question of the need for an all-Russian newspaper; but we cannot agree that this presentation bears relevance to the title 'Where To Begin'. Undoubtedly this is an extremely important matter, but neither a newspaper, nor a series of popular leaflets, nor a mountain of manifestos, can serve as the basis for a militant organisation in revolutionary times. We must set to work to build strong political organisations in the localities. We lack such organisations; we have been carrying on our work mainly among enlightened workers, while the masses have been engaged almost exclusively in the economic struggle. *If strong political organisations are not trained locally, what significance will even an excellently organised all-Russian newspaper have?* It will be a burning bush, burning without being consumed, but firing no one! *Iskra* thinks that round it and in the activities in its behalf people will gather and organise. *But they will find it far easier to gather and organise round activities that are more concrete.* This something more concrete must and should be the extensive organisation of local newspapers, the immediate preparation of the workers' forces for demonstrations, the constant activity of local organisations among the unemployed (indefatigable distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, convening of meetings, appeals to actions of protest against the government, etc.). We must begin live political work in the localities, and when the time comes to unite on this real basis, it will not be an artificial, paper unity; not by means of newspapers can such a unification of local work into an all-Russian cause be achieved!" (*The Eve of the Revolution*, p. 54.)

We have emphasised the passages in this eloquent tirade that most clearly show the author's incorrect judgement of our plan, as well as the incorrectness of his point of view in general, which is here contraposed to that of *Iskra*. Unless we train strong political organisations in the localities, even an excellently organised all-Russian newspaper will be of no avail. This is incontrovertible. But the whole point is that *there is no other way of training* strong political organisations except through the medium of an all-Russian newspaper. The author missed the most important statement *Iskra* made *before it proceeded* to set forth its "plan": that it was necessary "to call for the formation of a revolutionary organisation, capable of uniting all forces and guiding the movement in actual practice and *not in name alone*, that is, *an organisation ready at any time to support every protest and every outbreak* and use it to build up and consolidate the fighting forces suitable for the decisive struggle". But now after the February and March events, everyone will agree with this in principle, continues *Iskra*. Yet what we need is not a solution of the question in principle, but its *practical solution*; we must immediately advance a definite constructive plan through which all may immediately set to work to build *from every side*. Now we are again being dragged away from the practical solution towards something which in principle is correct, indisputable, and great, but which is entirely inadequate and incomprehensible to the broad masses of workers, namely, "to rear strong political organisations"! This is not the point at issue, most worthy author. The point is *how* to go about the rearing and how to accomplish it.

It is not true to say that "we have been carrying on our work mainly among enlightened workers, while the masses have been engaged almost exclusively in the economic struggle". Presented in such a form, the thesis reduces itself to *Svoboda*'s usual but fundamentally false contraposition of the enlightened workers to the "masses". In recent years, even the enlightened workers have been "engaged almost exclusively in the economic struggle". That is the first point. On the other hand, the masses will never learn to conduct the political struggle until we help *to train* leaders for this struggle, both from among the enlightened workers and from among the intellectuals. Such leaders can acquire training *solely* by systematically evaluating *all* the everyday aspects of our political life, *all attempts* at protest and struggle on the part of the various classes and on various grounds. Therefore, to talk of "rearing political organisations" and at the same time *to contrast* the "paper work" of a political newspaper to "live political work in the localities" is plainly ridiculous. *Iskra* has adapted its "plan" for a newspaper to the "plan" for creating a "militant preparedness" to support the unemployed movement, peasant revolts, discontent among the Zemstvo people, "popular indignation against some tsarist bashi-bazouk on the rampage", etc. Any one who is at all acquainted with the movement knows fully well that the vast majority of local organisations have *never even dreamed* of these things; that many of the prospects of "live political work" here indicated *have never* been realised by a single organisation;

that the attempt, for example, to call attention to the growth of discontent and protest among the Zemstvo intelligentsia rouses feelings of consternation and perplexity in Nadezhdin ("Good Lord, is this newspaper intended for Zemstvo people?"—*The Eve*, p. 129), among the Economists (Letter to *Iskra*, No. 12), and among many practical workers. Under these circumstances, it is possible to "begin" *only* by inducing people *to think* about all these things, to summarise and generalise all the divers signs of ferment and active struggle. In our time, when Social-Democratic tasks are being degraded, *the only way* "live political work" can be *begun* is with live political agitation, which is impossible unless we have an all-Russian newspaper, frequently issued and regularly distributed.

Those who regard the *Iskra* "plan" as a manifestation of "bookishness" have totally failed to understand its substance and take for the goal that which is suggested as the most suitable means for the present time. These people have not taken the trouble to study the two comparisons that were drawn to present a clear illustration of the plan. *Iskra* wrote: The publication of an all-Russian political newspaper must be *the main line* by which we may unswervingly develop, deepen, and expand the organisation (viz., the revolutionary organisation that is ever ready to support every protest and every outbreak). Pray tell me, when bricklayers lay bricks in various parts of an enormous, unprecedentedly large structure, is it "paper" work to use a line to help them find the correct place for the bricklaying; to indicate to them the ultimate goal of the common work; to enable them to use, not only every brick, but even every piece of brick which, cemented to the bricks laid before and after it, forms a finished, continuous line? And are we not now passing through precisely such a period in our Party life when we have bricks and bricklayers, but lack the guide line for all to see and follow? Let them shout that in stretching out the line, we want to command. Had we desired to command, gentlemen, we would have written on the title page, not "*Iskra*. No. 1", but "*Rabochaya Gazeta*, No. 3", as we were invited to do by certain comrades, and *as we would have had a perfect right to do* after the events described above. But we did not do that. We wished to have our hands free to wage an irreconcilable struggle against all pseudo-Social-Democrats; we wanted our line, if properly laid, to be respected because it was correct, and not because it had been laid by an official organ.

"The question of uniting local activity in central bodies runs in a vicious circle," Nadezhdin lectures us; "unification requires homogeneity of the elements, and the homogeneity can be created only by something that unites; but the unifying element may be the product of strong local organisations which at the present time are by no means distinguished for their homogeneity." This truth is as revered and as irrefutable as that we must train strong political organisations. And it is equally barren. *Every* question "runs in a vicious circle" because political life as a whole is an endless chain consisting of an infinite number of links. The whole art of politics lies in finding and taking as firm a grip as we can of the link that is least likely to be struck from our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that most of all

guarantees its possessor the possession of the whole chain.* If we had a crew of experienced bricklayers who had learned to work so well together that they could lay their bricks exactly as required without a guide line (which, speaking abstractly, is by no means impossible), then perhaps we might take hold of some other link. But it is unfortunate that as yet we have no experienced bricklayers trained for teamwork, that bricks are often laid where they are not needed at all, that they are not laid according to the general line, but are so scattered that the enemy can shatter the structure as if it were made of sand and not of bricks.

Another comparison: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In this respect it *may be compared to the scaffolding* erected round a building under construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour."* Does this sound anything like the attempt of an armchair author to exaggerate his role? The scaffolding is not required at all for the dwelling; it is made of cheaper material, is put up only temporarily, and is scrapped for firewood as soon as the shell of the structure is completed. As for the building of revolutionary organisations, experience shows that sometimes they may be built without scaffolding, as the seventies showed. But at the present time we cannot even imagine the possibility of erecting the building we require without scaffolding.

Nadezhdin disagrees with this, saying: "*Iskra* thinks that around it and in the activities in its behalf people will gather and organise. *But they will find it far easier to gather and organise around activities that are more concrete!*" Indeed, "far easier around activities that are more concrete". A Russian proverb holds: "Don't spit into a well, you may want to drink from it." But there are people who do not object to drinking from a well that has been spat into. What despicable things our magnificent, legal "Critic of Marxism" and illegal admirers of *Rabochaya Mysl* have said in the name of this something more concrete! How restricted our movement is by our own narrowness, lack of initiative, and hesitation, which are justified with the traditional argument about finding it "far easier to gather around something more concrete"! And Nadezhdin—who regards himself as possessing a particularly keen sense of the "realities of life", who so severely condemns "armchair" authors and (with pretensions to wit) accuses *Iskra* of a weakness for seeing Economism everywhere, and who sees himself standing far above the division between

* Comrade Krichevsky and Comrade Martynov! I call your attention to this outrageous manifestation of "autocracy", "uncontrolled authority", "supreme regulating", etc. Just think of it: a desire to possess the whole chain!! Send in a complaint at once. Here you have a ready-made topic for two leading articles for No. 12 of *Rabocheye Dyelo*!

* Martynov, in quoting the first sentence of this passage in *Rabocheye Dyelo* (No. 10, p. 62), omitted the second, as if desiring to emphasise either his unwillingness to discuss the essentials of the question or his inability to understand them.

the orthodox and the Critics—fails to see that with his arguments he contributes to the narrowness that arouses his indignation and that he is drinking from the most spat-in well! The sincerest indignation against narrowness, the most passionate desire to raise its worshippers from their knees, will not suffice if the indignant one is swept along without sail or rudder and, as “spontaneously” as the revolutionaries of the seventies, clutches at such things as “excitative terror”, “agrarian terror”, “sounding the tocsin”, etc. Let us take a glance at these “more concrete” activities around which he thinks it will be “far easier” to gather and organise: (1) local newspapers; (2) preparations for demonstrations; (3) work among the unemployed. It is immediately apparent that all these things have been seized upon at random as a pretext for saying something; for, however we may regard them, it would be absurd to see in them anything especially suitable for “gathering and organising”. The self-same Nadezhdin says a few pages further: “It is time we simply stated the fact that activity of a very pitiable kind is being carried on in the localities, the committees are not doing a tenth of what they could do . . . the co-ordinating centres we have at present are the purest fiction, representing a sort of revolutionary bureaucracy, whose members mutually grant generalships to one another; and so it will continue until strong local organisations grow up.” These remarks, though exaggerating the position somewhat, no doubt contain many a bitter truth; but can it be said that Nadezhdin does not perceive the connection between the pitiable activity in the localities and the narrow mental outlook of the functionaries, the narrow scope of their activities, inevitable in the circumstance of the lack of training of Party workers confined to local organisations? Has he, like the author of the article on organisation, published in *Svoboda*, forgotten how the transition to a broad local press (from 1898) was accompanied by a strong intensification of Economism and “primitiveness”? Even if a “broad local press” could be established at all satisfactorily (and we have shown this to be impossible, save in very exceptional cases)—even then the local organs could not “gather and organise” *all* the revolutionary forces for a *general* attack upon the autocracy and for leadership of the *united* struggle. Let us not forget that we are here discussing *only* the “rallying”, organising significance of the newspaper, and we could put to Nadezhdin, who defends fragmentation, the question he himself has ironically put: “Have we been left a legacy of 200,000 revolutionary organisers?” Furthermore, “preparations for demonstrations cannot be *contraposed* to *Iskra*’s plan, for the very reason that this plan includes the organisation of the broadest possible demonstrations *as one of its aims*; the point under discussion is the selection of the practical *means*. On this point also Nadezhdin is confused, for he has lost sight of the fact that only forces that are “gathered and organised” can “prepare for” demonstrations (which hitherto, in the overwhelming majority of cases, have taken place spontaneously) and that we *lack* precisely *the ability* to rally and organise. “Work among the unemployed.” Again the same confusion; for this too represents one of the field operations of the mobilised forces and not a plan for mobilising the forces.

The extent to which Nadezhdin here too underestimates the harm caused by our fragmentation, by our lack of "200,000 organisers", can be seen from the fact that: many people (including Nadezhdin) have reproached *Iskra* for the paucity of the news it gives on unemployment and for the casual nature of the correspondence it publishes about the most common affairs of rural life. The reproach is justified; but *Iskra* is "guilty without sin". We strive "to stretch a line" through the countryside too, where there are hardly any bricklayers anywhere, and we are *obliged* to encourage *everyone* who informs us even as regards the most common facts, in the hope that this will increase the number of our contributors in the given field and will ultimately *train us all* to select facts that are really the most outstanding. But the material on which we can train is so scanty that, unless we generalise it for the whole of Russia, we shall have very little to train on at all. No doubt, one with at least as much ability as an agitator and as much knowledge of the life of the vagrant as Nadezhdin manifests could render priceless service to the movement by carrying on agitation among the unemployed; but such a person would be simply hiding his light under a bushel if he failed to inform *all* comrades in Russia as regards every step he took in his work, so that others, who, in the mass, still lack the ability to undertake new kinds of work, might learn from his example.

All without exception now talk of the importance of unity, of the necessity for "gatherig and organising"; but in the majority of cases what is lacking is a definite idea of where to begin and how to bring about this unity. Probably all will agree that if we "unite", say, the district circles in a given town, it will be necessary to have for this purpose *common institutions*, i.e. not merely the common title of "League", but genuinely *common* work, exchange of material, experience, and forces, distribution of functions, not only by districts, but through specialisation on a town-wide scale. All will agree that a big secret apparatus will not pay its way (to use a commercial expression) "with the resources" (in both money and manpower, of course) of a single district, and that this narrow field will not provide sufficient scope for a specialist to develop his talents. But the same thing applies to the co-ordination of activities of a number of towns, since even a specific locality *will be* and, in the history of our Social-Democratic movement, has proved to be, far too narrow a field; we have demonstrated this above in detail with regard to political agitation and organisational work. What we require foremost and imperatively is to broaden the field, establish *real* contacts between the towns on the basis of *regular, common* work; for fragmentation weighs down on the people and they are "stuck in a hole" (to use the expression employed by a correspondent to *Iskra*), not knowing what is happening in the world, from whom to learn, or how to acquire experience and satisfy their desire to engage in broad activities. I continue to insist that we can *start* establishing *real* contacts only with the aid of a common newspaper, as the only regular. All-Russian enterprise, one which will summarise the results of the most divers forms of activity and thereby *stimulate* people to march forward untiringly along *all* the innumerable paths

leading to revolution, in the same way as all roads lead to Rome. If we do not want unity in name only, we must arrange for all local study circles *immediately to assign*, say, a fourth of their forces to *active* work for the *common* cause, and the newspaper will immediately convey to them* the general design, scope, and character of the cause; it will give them a precise indication of the most keenly felt shortcomings in the all-Russian activity, where agitation is lacking and contacts are weak, and it will point out which little wheels in the vast general mechanism a given study circle might repair or replace with better ones. A study circle that has not yet begun to work, but which is only just seeking activity, could then start, no like a craftsman in an isolated little workshop unaware of the earlier development in "industry" or of the general level of production methods prevailing in industry, but as a participant in an extensive enterprise that *reflects* the whole general revolutionary attack on the autocracy. The more perfect the finish of each little wheel and the larger the number of detail workers engaged in the common cause, the closer will our network become and the less will be the disorder in the ranks consequent on inevitable police raids.

The mere function of distributing a newspaper would help to establish *actual* contacts (if it is a newspaper worthy of the name, i.e., if it is issued regularly, not once a month like a magazine, but at least four times a month). At the present time, communication between towns on revolutionary business is an extreme rarity, and, at all events, is the exception rather than the rule. If we had a newspaper, however, such communication would become the rule and would secure, not only the distribution of the newspaper, of course, but (what is more important) an exchange of experience, of material, of forces, and of resources. Organisational work would immediately acquire much greater scope, and the success of one locality would serve as a standing encouragement to further perfection; it would arouse the desire to utilise the experience gained by comrades working in other parts of the country. Local work would become far richer and more varied than it is at present. Political and economic exposures gathered from all over Russia would provide mental food for workers of all trades and *all stages of development*; they would provide material and occasion for talks and readings on the most divers subjects, which would, in addition, be suggested by hints in the legal press, by talk among the people, and by "shamefaced" government statements. Every outbreak, every demonstration, would be weighed and discussed in its every aspect in all parts of Russia and would thus stimulate a desire to keep up with, and even surpass, the others (we socialists do not by any means flatly reject all emulation or all "compet-

* *A reservation*: that is, if a given study circle sympathises with the policy of the newspaper and considers it useful to become a collaborator, meaning by that, not only for literary collaboration, but for revolutionary collaboration generally. *Note for Rabocheye Dyelo*: Among revolutionaries who attach value to the cause and not to playing at democracy, who do not separate "sympathy" from the most active and lively participation, this reservation is taken for granted.

ition"! and consciously prepare that which at first, as it were, sprang up spontaneously, a desire to take advantage of the favourable conditions in a given district or at a given moment for modifying the plan of attack, etc. At the same time, this revival of local work would obviate that desperate, "convulsive" exertion of *all* efforts and risking of *all* forces which every single demonstration or the publication of every single issue of a local newspaper now frequently entails. On the one hand, the police would find it much more difficult to get at the "roots", if they did not know in what district to dig down for them. On the other hand, regular common work would train our people to adjust the force of a *given* attack to the strength of the given contingent of the common army (at the present time hardly anyone ever thinks of doing that, because in nine cases out of ten these attacks occur spontaneously); such regular common work would facilitate the "transportation" from one place to another, not only of literature, but also of revolutionary forces.

In a great many cases these forces are now being bled white on restricted local work, but under the circumstances we are discussing it would be possible to transfer a capable agitator or organiser from one end of the country to the other, and the occasion for doing this would constantly arise. Beginning with short journeys on Party business at the Party's expense, the comrades would become accustomed to being maintained by the Party, to becoming professional revolutionaries, and to training themselves as real political leaders.

And if indeed we succeeded in reaching the point when all, or at least a considerable majority, of the local committees, local groups, and study circles took up active work for the common cause, we could, in the not distant future, establish a weekly newspaper for regular distribution in tens of thousands of copies throughout Russia. This newspaper would become part of an enormous pair of smith's bellows that would fan every spark of the class struggle and of popular indignation into a general conflagration. Around what is in itself still a very innocuous and very small, but regular and *common*, effort, in the full sense of the word, a regular army of tried fighters would systematically gather and receive their training. On the ladders and scaffolding of this general organisational structure there would soon develop and come to the fore Social-Democratic Zhelyabovs from among our revolutionaries and Russian Bebel from among our workers, who would take their place at the head of the mobilised army and rouse the whole people to settle accounts with the shame and the curse of Russia.

That is what we should dream of!

"We should dream!" I wrote these words and became alarmed. I imagined myself sitting at a "unity conference" and opposite me were the *Rabocheye Dyelo* editors and contributors. Comrade Martynov rises and, turning to me, says sternly: "Permit me to ask you, has an autonomous editorial board the right to dream without first soliciting the opinion of the Party committees?"

He is followed by Comrade Krichevsky, who (philosophically deepening Comrade Martynov, who long ago rendered Comrade Plekhanov more profound) continues even more sternly: "I go further. I ask, has a Marxist any right at all to dream, knowing that according to Marx mankind always sets itself the tasks it can solve and that tactics is a process of the growth of Party tasks which grow together with the Party?"

The very thought of these stern questions sends a cold shiver down my spine and makes me wish for nothing but a place to hide in. I shall try to hide behind the back of Pisarev.

"There are rifts and rifts," wrote Pisarev of the rift between dreams and reality. "My dream may run ahead of the natural march of events or may fly off at a tangent in a direction in which no natural march of events will ever proceed. In the first case my dream will not cause any harm; it may even support and augment the energy of the working men . . . There is nothing in such dreams that would distort or paralyse labour-power. On the contrary, if man were completely deprived of the ability to dream in this way, if he could not from time to time run ahead and mentally conceive, in an entire and completed picture, the product to which his hands are only just beginning to lend shape, then I cannot at all imagine what stimulus there would be to induce man to undertake and complete extensive and strenuous work in the sphere of art, science, and practical endeavour . . . The rift between dreams and reality causes no harm if only the person dreaming believes seriously in his dream, if he attentively observes life, compares his observations with his castles in the air, and if, generally speaking, he works conscientiously for the achievement of his fantasies. If there is some connection between dreams and life then all is well."

Of this kind of dreaming there is unfortunately too little in our movement. And the people most responsible for this are those who boast of their sober views, their "closeness" to the "concrete", the representatives of legal criticism and of illegal "tail-ism".

C. What Type of Organisation do we Require?

From what has been said the reader will see that our "tactics-as-plan" consists in rejecting an immediate *call* for assault; in demanding "to lay effective siege to the enemy fortress"; or, in other words, in demanding that all efforts be directed towards gathering, organising, and *mobilising* a permanent army. When we ridiculed *Rabocheye Dyelo* for its leap from Economism to shouting for an assault (for which it clamoured in April 1901, in "*Listok*" *Rabochego Dyela*, No. 6), it of course came down on us with accusations of being "doctrinaire." of failing to understand our revolutionary duty, of calling for caution, etc. Of course, we were not in the least surprised to hear these accusations from those who totally lack principles and who evade all arguments by references to a profound "tactics-as-process", any more than we were surprised by the fact

that these charges were repeated by Nadezhdin, who in general has a supreme contempt for durable programmes and the fundamentals of tactics.

It is said that history does not repeat itself. But Nadezhdin exerts every effort to cause it to repeat itself and he zealously imitates Tkachov in strongly condemning "revolutionary culturism", in shouting about "sounding the tocsin" and about a special "eve-of-the-revolution point of view", etc. Apparently, he has forgotten the well-known maxim that while an original historical event represents a tragedy, its replica is merely a farce. The attempt to seize power, which was prepared by the preaching of Tkachov and carried out by means of the "terrifying" terror that did really terrify, had grandeur, but the "excitative" terror of a Tkachov the Little is simply ludicrous, particularly so when it is supplemented with the idea of an organisation of average people.

"If *Iskra* would only emerge from its sphere of bookishness," wrote Nadezhdin, "it would realise that these [instances like the worker's letter to *Iskra*, No. 7, etc.] are symptoms of the fact that soon, very soon, the 'assault' will begin, and to speak now (*sic!*) of an organisation linked with an all-Russian newspaper means to propagate armchair ideas and armchair activity." What an unimaginable muddle—on the one hand, excitative terror and an "organisation of average people", along with the opinion that it is far "easier" to gather around something "more concrete", like a local newspaper, and, on the other, the view that to talk "now" about an all-Russian organisation means to propagate armchair thoughts, or, bluntly put, "now" it is already too late! But what of the "extensive organisation of local newspapers"—is it not too late for that, my dear L. Nadezhdin? And compare with this *Iskra's* point of view and tactical line: excitative terror is nonsense; to talk of an organisation of average people and of the *extensive* publication of local newspapers means to fling the door wide open to Economism. We must speak of a single all-Russian organisation of revolutionaries, and it will never be too late to talk of that until the real, not a paper, assault begins.

"Yes, as far as organisation is concerned the situation is anything but brilliant", continues Nadezhdin. "Yes, *Iskra* is entirely right in saying that the mass of our fighting forces consists of volunteers and insurgents . . . You do well to give such a sober picture of the state of our forces. But why, at the same time, do you forget that *the masses are not ours at all*, and consequently, *will not ask us* when to begin military operations; they will simply go and 'rebel' . . . When the crowd itself breaks out with its elemental destructive force it *may* overwhelm and sweep aside the 'regular troops' among whom we prepared all the time to introduce extremely systematic organisation, but never *managed* to do so." (Our italics.)

Astounding logic! *For the very reason* that the "masses are not ours" it is stupid and unseemly to shout about an immediate "assault", for assault means attack by regular troops and not a spontaneous mass upsurge. For the very reason that the masses *may* overwhelm and sweep aside the regular troops we must without fail "manage to keep up" with the spontaneous upsurge by our work of "introducing extremely systematic organisation" in the regular troops,

for the more we "manage" to introduce such organisation the more probably will the regular troops not be overwhelmed by the masses, but will take their place at their head. Nadezhdin is confused because he imagines that troops in the course of systematic organisation are engaged in something that isolates them from the masses, when in actuality they are engaged exclusively in all-sided and all-embracing political agitation, i.e., precisely in work that *brings closer and merges into a single whole* the elemental destructive force of the organisation of revolutionaries. You, gentlemen, wish to lay the blame where it does not belong. For it is precisely the *Svoboda* group that, by including terror in its programme, calls for an organisation of terrorists, and such an organisation would indeed prevent our troops from establishing closer contacts with the masses, which, unfortunately, are still not ours, and which, unfortunately, do not yet ask us, when and how to launch their military operations.

"We shall miss the revolution itself", continues Nadezhdin in his attempt to scare *Iskra*, "in the same way as we missed the recent events, which came upon us like a bolt from the blue". This sentence taken in connection with what has been quoted above, clearly demonstrates the absurdity of the "eve-of-the-revolution point of view" invented by *Svoboda*.^{*} Plainly put, this special "point of view" boils down to this that it is too late "now" to discuss and prepare. If that is the case, most worthy opponent of "bookishness", what was the use of writing a pamphlet of 132 pages on "questions of theory* and tactics"? Don't you think it would have been more becoming for the "eve-of-the-revolution point of view" to have issued 132,000 leaflets containing the summary call, "Bang them—knock 'em down!"?

Those who make nation-wide political agitation the corner-stone of their programme, *their tactics, and their organisational work*, as *Iskra* does, stand the least risk of missing the revolution. The people who are now engaged throughout Russia in weaving the network of connections that spread from the all-Russian newspaper not only did not miss the spring events, but, on the contrary, gave us an opportunity to foretell them. Nor did they miss the demonstrations that were described in *Iskra*, Nos. 13 and 14; on the contrary, they took part in them, clearly realising that it was their duty to come to the aid

* *The Eve of the Revolution*, p. 62.

** In his *Review of Questions of Theory*, Nadezhdin, by the way, made almost no contribution whatever to the discussion of questions of theory, aparat, perhaps, from the following passage, a most peculiar one from the "eve-of-the-revolution point of view": "Bersteinism, on the whole, is losing its acuteness for us at the present moment, as is the question whether Mr. Adamovich will prove that Mr. Struve has already earned a lacing, or, on the contrary, whether Mr. Struve will refute Mr. Adamovich and will refuse to resign — it really makes no difference, because the hour of revolution has struck" (p. 110). One can hardly imagine a more glaring illustration of Nadezhdin's infinite disregard for theory. We have proclaimed "the eve of the revolution", therefore "it really makes no difference" whether or not the orthodox will succeed in finally driving the Critics from their positions! Our wiseacre fails to see that it is precisely during the revolution that we shall stand in need of the results of our theoretical battles with the Critics in order to be able resolutely to combat their *practical* positions!

of the spontaneously rising masses and, at the same time, through the medium of the newspaper, help all the comrades in Russia to inform themselves of the demonstrations and to make use of their gathered experience. And if they live they will not miss the revolution, which, first and foremost, will demand of us experience in agitation, ability to support (in a Social-Democratic manner) every protest, as well as direct the spontaneous movement, while safeguarding it from the mistakes of friends and the traps of enemies.

We have thus come to the last reason that compels us so strongly to insist on the plan of an organisation centred round an all-Russian newspaper, through the common work for the common newspaper. Only such organisation will ensure the *flexibility* required of a militant Social-Democratic organisation, viz., the ability to adapt itself immediately to the most divers and rapidly changing conditions of struggle, the ability, "on the one hand, to avoid an open battle against an overwhelming enemy, when the enemy has concentrated all his forces at one spot and yet, on the other, to take advantage of his unwieldiness and to attack him when and where he least expects it".* It would be a grievous error indeed to build the Party organisation in anticipation only of outbreaks and street fighting, or only upon the "forward march of the drab everyday struggle". We must *always* conduct our everyday work and always be prepared for every situation, because very frequently it is almost impossible to foresee when a period of outbreak will give way to a period of calm. In the instances, however, when it is possible to do so, we could not turn this foresight to account for the purpose of reconstructing our organisation; for in an autocratic country these changes take place with astonishing rapidity, being sometimes connected with a single night raid by the tsarist janizaries. And the revolution itself must not by any means be regarded as a single act (as the Nadezhdins apparently imagine), but as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with periods of more or less complete calm. For that reason, the principal content of the activity of our Party organisation, the focus of this activity, should be work that is both possible and essential in the period of a most powerful outbreak as well as in the period of complete calm, namely, work of political agitation, connected throughout Russia, illuminating all aspects of life, and conducted among the broadest possible strata of the masses. But this work is *unthinkable* in present-day Russia without an all-Russian newspaper,

* *Iskra*, No. 4, "Where To Begin". "Revolutionary culturists who do not accept the eve-of-the-revolution point of view, are not in the least perturbed by the prospect of working for a long period of time," writes Nadezhdin (p. 62). This brings us to observe: Unless we are able to devise political tactics and an organisational plan for *work over a very long period*, while ensuring, in the *very process of this work*, our Party's readiness to be at its post and fulfil its duty in every contingency whenever the march of events is accelerated—unless we succeed in doing this, we shall prove to be but miserable political adventurers. Only Nadezhdin, who began but yesterday to describe himself as a Social-Democrat, can forget that the aim of Social-Democracy is to transform radically the conditions of life of the whole of mankind and that for this reason it is not permissible for a Social-Democrat to be "perturbed" by the question of the duration of the work.

issued very frequently. The organisation, which will form round this newspaper, the organisation of its *collaborators* (in the broad sense of the word, i.e., all those working for it), will be ready for *everything*, from upholding the honour, the prestige, and the continuity of the Party in periods of acute revolutionary "depression" to preparing for, appointing the time for, and carrying out the *nation-wide armed uprising*.

Indeed, picture to yourselves a very ordinary occurrence in Russia—the total round-up of our comrades in one or several localities. In the absence of a *single*, common, regular activity that combines *all* the local organisations, such round-ups frequently result in the interruption of the work for many months. If, however, all the local organisations had one common activity, then, even in the event of a very serious round-up, two or three energetic persons could in the course of a few weeks establish contact between the common centre and new youth circles, which, as we know, spring up very quickly even now. And when the common activity, hampered by the arrests, is apparent to all, new circles will be able to come into being and make connections with the centre even more rapidly.

On the other hand, picture to yourselves a popular uprising. Probably everyone will now agree that we must think of this and prepare for it. But *how*? Surely the Central Committee cannot appoint agents to all localities for the purpose of preparing the uprising. Even if we had a Central Committee, it could achieve absolutely nothing by such appointments under present-day Russian conditions. But a network of agents* that would form in the course of establishing and distributing the common newspaper would not have to "sit about and wait" for the call for an uprising, but could carry on the regular activity that would guarantee the highest probability of success in the event of an uprising. Such activity would strengthen our contacts with the broadest strata of the working masses and with all social strata that are discontented with the autocracy, which is of such importance for an uprising. Precisely such activity would serve to cultivate the ability to estimate correctly the general political situation and, consequently, the ability to select the proper moment for an uprising. Precisely such activity would train *all* local organisations to respond simultaneously to the same political questions, incidents, and events that agitate the whole of Russia and to react to such "incidents" in the most vigorous,

* Alas, alas! Again I have let slip that awful word "agents", which jars so much on the democratic ears of the Martynovs! I wonder why this word did not offend the heroes of the seventies and yet offends the amateurs of the nineties? I like the word, because it clearly and trenchantly indicates *the common cause* to which all the agents bend their thoughts and actions, and if I had to replace this word by another, the only word I might select would be the word "collaborator", if it did not suggest a certain bookishness and vagueness. The thing we need is a military organisation of agents. However, the numerous Martynovs (particularly abroad), whose favourite pastime is "mutual grants of generalships to one another", may instead of saying "passport agent" prefer to say, "Chief of the Special Department for Supplying Revolutionaries with Passports", etc.

uniform, and expedient manner possible; for an uprising is in essence the most vigorous, most uniform, and most expedient "answer" of the entire people to the government. Lastly, it is precisely such activity that would train all revolutionary organisations throughout Russia to maintain the most continuous, and at the same time the most secret, contacts with one another, thus creating *real* Party unity; for without such contacts it will be impossible collectively to discuss the plan for the uprising and to take the necessary preparatory measures on the eve, measures that must be kept in the strictest secrecy.

In a word, the "plan for an all-Russian political newspaper", far from representing the fruits of the labour of armchair workers, infected with dogmatism and bookishness (as it seemed to those who gave but little thought to it), is the most practical plan for immediate and all-round preparation of the uprising, with, at the same time, no loss of sight for a moment of the pressing day-to-day work.

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398—401; 410, 412—417; 431—432;
482—516

Reply to „A Reader”

The following letter has been received by the Editorial Board:

“In dealing with the question of agitation (if I am not mistaken, in No. 13) *Iskra* opposes agitational leaflets (pamphlets of two or three pages) on political subjects. In the opinion of the editors, newspapers can successfully replace such literature. Newspapers are, of course, a fine thing. Nobody would dream of disputing that. But can they replace leaflets that are specially intended for widespread distribution among the masses? The editors have received a letter from Russia in which a group of workers-agitators gave their opinion on this subject. *Iskra*’s reply is obviously due to a misunderstanding. The question of agitation is as important today as the question of demonstrations. It is, therefore, to be desired that the editors raise this question once again and on this occasion devote to it greater attention.

“A Reader”

Anyone who takes the trouble to read our reply to the letter from “Southern Workers” in No. 13 of *Iskra* together with this letter will easily convince himself that it is precisely the author of the letter who labours under an obvious misunderstanding. There was no question of *Iskra*’s “opposing agitational leaflets”; it never entered anyone’s head that a newspaper could “replace leaflets”. Our correspondent did not notice that leaflets are in fact proclamations. Such literature as proclamations *cannot be replaced by anything* and will always

be *absolutely essential*—on this point the “Southern Workers” and *Iskra* are in full accord. But they are also agreed that this type of literature *is not sufficient*. If we speak of good housing for the workers and at the same time say that good food is not enough for them, that would hardly be taken to mean that we are “against” good food. The question is—which is the highest form of *agitational* literature? The “Southern Workers” *did not say a word* about the newspaper when they raised this question. Their silence could, of course, have been due to local circumstances, but we, although we did not in the least wish to enter into “disputes” with our correspondents, naturally could not refrain from reminding them that the proletariat should also organise its own newspaper just as the other classes of the population have done, that fragmentary work alone is not enough, and that the regular, active, and general work of all localities. for a revolutionary organ is essential.

As far as the three- or four-page pamphlets are concerned, *we did not speak* “against” them *in the least*, but merely doubted the practicability of a plan to develop them into *regular* literature distributed “simultaneously throughout Russia”. If they consist of three or four pages, they will be, essentially, only proclamations. In all parts of Russia we have many very good proclamations that are not in the least heavy reading, both student and workers’ proclamations, that sometimes run to six or eight small pages. A really *popular* pamphlet, capable of *explaining* even one single question to a completely unprepared worker, would probably be much bigger in size and there would be no need and no possibility of distributing it “simultaneously throughout Russia” (since it is not only of topical significance.) Fully recognising, as we do, every variety of political literature, old and new, so long as it is really good political literature, we would advise working, not upon an invention of a midway type of agitational medium—something between leaflet and popular pamphlet, but for a revolutionary organ that *really* deserves the name of periodical (appearing, not once, but at least two or four times, a month) and which is an *all-Russian* organ.

Iskra, No. 16, February 1, 1902

Collected Works, Vol. 5, pp. 344–345

The Zemstvo Campaign and *Iskra*’s Plan

FOR PARTY MEMBERS ONLY

The editorial board of *Iskra* has just issued (“for Party members”) a letter addressed to the Party organisations. Russia has never been within such close distance of a constitution, say the editors; and they expound a complete plan for a “political campaign”, a complete plan for influencing our liberal Zemstvo-ist petitioners for a constitution.

Before analysing this exceedingly instructive plan of the new *Iskra's*, let us recall how the Russian Social-Democrats have regarded the question of their attitude towards the liberal Zemstvo-ists since a mass working-class movement arose. Everyone knows that, practically from the inception of the mass working-class movement, a struggle went on between the "Economists" and the revolutionaries over this question too. The former went so far as directly to deny the existence of a bourgeois-democratic element in Russia and ignore the proletariat's task of influencing the opposition strata of society; at the same time, by narrowing the scope of the political struggle of the proletariat, they consciously or unconsciously left the role of political leadership to the liberal elements of society, assigning to the workers "the economic struggle against the employers and the government". The adherents of revolutionary Social-Democracy fought in the old *Iskra* against this trend. This struggle may be divided into two main periods: the period before the appearance of a liberal organ—*Osvobozhdeniye*—and the period after it appeared. During the first period we directed our attack mainly against the narrowness of the Economists; we tried to "wake them up" to the fact, which they failed to perceive, of the existence of a bourgeois-democratic element in Russia; we emphasised the need for political activity by the proletariat in every sphere, we stressed that the proletariat must influence all sections of society, that it must become the vanguard in the battle for freedom. It is the more fitting and necessary to recall this period and its main features now because the adherents of the new *Iskra* grossly falsify it (see Trotsky's *Our Political Tasks*, published under the editorship of *Iskra*), banking on the unfamiliarity of the younger generation with the recent history of our movement.

From the time of the appearance of *Osvobozhdeniye*, the second period in the old *Iskra's* fight began. When the liberals came out with an organ and political programme of their own, the proletariat's task of influencing "society" naturally underwent a modification: working-class democrats could no longer confine themselves to "shaking up" the liberal democrats and rousing their opposition spirit; they had to put the emphasis on revolutionary criticism of the half-heartedness so clearly exhibited in the political position of liberalism. The influence we brought to bear on the liberal strata now took the form of constantly pointing out the inconsistency and inadequacy of the liberals' political protest (it is sufficient to mention *Zarya*, which criticised Mr. Struve's preface to the Witte Memorandum, also numerous articles in *Iskra*).

By the time of the Second Party Congress this new attitude of the Social-Democrats towards the now articulate liberals was already so well-defined and established that there was no question in anyone's mind about whether a bourgeois-democratic element existed in Russia and whether the opposition movement ought to receive support (and what kind of support) from the proletariat. The only question was how to formulate the Party's views on the subject; and I need only point out here that the views of the old *Iskra* were much better expressed in Plekhanov's resolution, which emphasised the

anti-revolutionary and anti-proletarian character of the liberal *Osvobozhdeniye*, than in the confused resolution tabled by Starover, which, on the one hand, aimed (quite inopportunistly) at an "agreement" with the liberals, and, on the other, stipulated for it conditions that were manifestly unreal, being altogether impossible for the liberals to fulfil.

I

Now let us examine the new *Iskra's* plan. The editors acknowledge that we must make full use of all material showing the irresolution and half-heartedness of the liberal democrats and the antagonism of interests between the liberal bourgeoisie and the proletariat, must do so "in accordance with the fundamental demands of our programme". "But," the editors continue, "*but* within the framework of the struggle with absolutism, notably in its present phase, our attitude towards the liberal bourgeoisie *is determined by the task* of spurring it to greater boldness and inducing it to join in the demands which the proletariat, led by the Social-Democrats, *will put forward* [? has put forward?]." We have italicised the particularly strange words in this strange tirade. For what is it if not strange to contrast criticism of half-heartedness and analysis of antagonistic interests, on the one hand, and the task of spurring these people to greater boldness and inducing them to join, on the other? How can we spur the liberal democrats to greater boldness except by relentless analysis and devastating criticism of the half-heartedness of their democracy? Insofar as the bourgeois (liberal) democrats intend to act as democrats, and are forced to act as democrats, they necessarily seek the support of the widest possible sections of the people. This inevitably produces the following contradiction. The wider these sections of the people, the more representatives are there among them of the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata, who demand the complete democratisation of the political and social system—such complete democratisation as would threaten to undermine very important pillars of all bourgeois rule (the monarchy, the standing army, the bureaucracy). Bourgeois democrats are by their very nature incapable of satisfying these demands, and are therefore, by their very nature, doomed to irresolution and half-heartedness. By criticising this half-heartedness, the Social-Democrats keep prodding the liberals on and winning more and more proletarians and semi-proletarians, and partly petty bourgeois too, from liberal democracy to working-class democracy. How then is it possible to say: we must criticise the half-heartedness of the liberal bourgeoisie, *but* (but!) our attitude towards it is determined by the task of spurring it to greater boldness? Why, that is plain muddle-headedness, which shows that its authors are either marching backward, reverting to the days when the liberals did not come forward openly at all, when they had still to be roused, stirred, induced to open their mouths—or else are slipping into the idea that one can "spur" the liberals to greater boldness by subtracting from the boldness of the proletarians.

Preposterous as this idea is, we find it again, even more clearly expressed, in the very next passage of the editors' letter: "But"—again that editorial reservation—"but we should be making a fatal mistake if we tried by strong measures of *intimidation* to *force* the Zemstvos or other organs of the bourgeois opposition to give here and now, under the influence of *panic*, a formal promise to present our demands to the government. Such a tactic would discredit the Social-Democrats, because it would make our entire political campaign a lever for reaction." (Editors' italics.)

So that's how it is, is it? Before the revolutionary proletariat has dealt the tsarist autocracy a single serious blow, at a time when that autocracy is so visibly shaken and when a serious blow is so imperative, would be so useful, and might prove decisive, there are Social-Democrats who go about mumbling about levers for reaction. This is not just muddleheadedness, it is sheer inanity. This is what the editors have come to with their terrible bogey, invented specially to start this talk about becoming a lever for reaction. Just think of it: that people should talk in all seriousness, in a letter to the Social-Democratic Party organisations, of tactics of intimidating the Zemstvo-ists and forcing them to give formal promises under the influence of panic! Even among Russian officialdom, even among our Ugryum-Burcheyevs, it would not be easy to find a political infant who would believe in such a bogey. We have among our revolutionists hotheaded terrorists, desperate bomb-throwers; but even the most hare-brained of the hare-brained defenders of bombthrowing have yet, I believe, to propose intimidating . . . the Zemstvo-ists and striking panic into . . . the opposition. Cannot the editors see that the inevitable effect of their ridiculous bogeys and inane phrases is to perplex and mislead, to befog and confuse the minds of the fighting proletarians? After all, these catchwords about levers for reaction and the discrediting tactics of intimidation do not fly into empty space; they fall upon the specific soil of police-ridden Russia, so eminently suited for the sprouting of weeds. Talk about levers for reaction is indeed to be heard at every street corner nowadays, but it comes from the *Novoye Vremya* gentry. The story about the discrediting tactics of intimidation has indeed been repeated *ad nauseam*—by the cowardly leaders of the bourgeois opposition.

Take Prof. Prince E. N. Trubetskoy. A sufficiently "enlightened" and—for a legal Russian personality—a sufficiently "bold" liberal, one would think. Yet how fatuously he discourses in the liberal *Pravo* (No. 39) on the "internal danger", namely, the danger from the extreme parties! There you have a live example of who really is close to panic; a graphic instance of what really does have an intimidating effect on real liberals. What they are afraid of, in need hardly be said, is not the plan conjured up by the *Iskra* editors, the plan of extorting from the Zemstvo-ists formal promises to the revolutionaries (Mr. Trubetskoy would only roar with laughter if told of such a plan); they are afraid of the revolutionary socialist aims of the "extreme" parties, they are afraid of leaflets, those first harbingers of independent revolutionary action by

the proletariat, which will not stop, will not lay down its arms until it has overthrown the rule of the bourgeoisie. This fear is not inspired by ludicrous bogeys, but by the actual nature of the working-class movement; and it is a fear ineradicable from the hearts of the bourgeoisie (not counting a few individuals and groups, of course). And that is why the new *Iskra's* talk about the discrediting tactics of intimidating the Zemstvo-ists and representatives of the bourgeois opposition rings so false. Afraid of leaflets, afraid of anything that goes beyond a qualified-franchise constitution, the liberal gentry will always stand in fear of the slogan "a democratic republic" and of the call for an armed uprising of the people. But the class-conscious proletariat will indignantly reject the very idea that we could renounce this slogan and this call, or could in general be guided in our activity by the panic and fears of the bourgeoisie.

Take *Novoye Vremya*. What dulcet melodies it weaves about the lever-for-reaction theme! "The youth and reaction," we read in the "Notes" in No. 10285 (October 18). "... The words go ill together, and yet unconsidered actions, impulsive ardour, and the desire at all costs to share immediately in shaping the nation's fortunes may bring the youth to this hopeless impasse. The demonstration a few days ago in front of the Vyborg prison; then the attempt at some sort of demonstration in the heart of the capital; in Moscow, the procession of 200 students with banners and protests against the war... All this explains the reaction... Student disturbances, youth demonstrations—why, they are a real godsend, a trump card, an unexpected ace of trumps in the hands of the reactionaries. Truly a welcome present for them, which they will know how to make the most of. We should not make them these presents, should not go about smashing imaginary [!!!] window-bars; the very doors are open now [the doors of the Vyborg and other prisons?], wide open!"

This disquisition requires no comment. One has only to quote it to see how tactless it is to talk about a lever for reaction now—*now*, when not one door of the all-Russia prison has opened a hair's breath for the struggling workers; when the tsarist autocracy has not yet made a single concession that would affect the proletariat in the slightest; when all attention and efforts should be centred on preparing for a real and decisive battle with the Russian people's enemy. Of course, the very thought of such a battle strikes fear and panic into the Trubetskoys and the thousands of less "enlightened" liberal gentlemen. But we should be fools if we took their panic into consideration. What we should take into consideration is the state of our forces, the growth of popular ferment and indignation, the moment when the proletariat's direct onslaught on the autocracy will link up with one of the spontaneous and spontaneously growing movements.

II

In speaking above of the bogey our editors conjured up, we did not mention another characteristic little point in their argument. The editors denounce the

discrediting tactics of seeking to extort from the Zemstvo-ists "a formal promise to present our demands to the government". Over and above the absurdities already noted, the very idea that "our" demands, the demands of working-class democrats, should be presented to the government by liberal democrats is a peculiar one. On the one hand, the liberal democrats, being bourgeois democrats, can never identify themselves with "our" demands, can never uphold them sincerely, consistently, and resolutely. Even if the liberals gave, and gave "voluntarily", a formal promise to present our demands, it is a foregone conclusion that they would fail to keep that promise, would betray the proletariat. On the other hand, if we should be strong enough to exert serious influence on the bourgeois democrats generally and the Zemstvo gentlemen in particular, we should be quite strong enough to present our demands to the government ourselves.

The editors' peculiar idea is no slip of the pen, but an inevitable product of their general confused position on this issue. Listen to this: "As our focal point and guiding thread . . . we must take the practical task . . . of exerting powerful organised pressure upon the bourgeois opposition"; "the draft of the workers' statement to the liberal opposition organ in question" must "explain why the workers are not approaching the government, but an assembly of representatives of that opposition". To put the thing in this way is a fundamental mistake. We, the party of the proletariat, should, of course, "go to all classes of the population", openly and vigorously championing our programme and our immediate demands before the people at large; we should seek to present these demands to the Zemstvo gentlemen too; but our focal point and guiding thread must be pressure on the government, not on the Zemstvo-ists. The editors of *Iskra* have turned this question of the focal point completely upside down. The bourgeois opposition is merely bourgeois and merely an opposition because it does not itself fight, because it has no programme of its own that it unconditionally upholds, because it stands between the two actual combatants (the government and the revolutionary proletariat with its handful of intellectual supporters) and hopes to turn the outcome of this struggle to its own advantage. Accordingly, the more heated the struggle becomes, the nearer the moment of the decisive battle, the more must we focus our attention and bring our pressure to bear on our actual enemy, and not on a *notoriously* conditional, problematic, unreliable, half-hearted ally. It would be foolish to ignore this ally, and absurd to try to intimidate and frighten him—all that is so self-evident that it is strange even to talk about it. But, I repeat, the focal point and guiding thread in our agitation must not be pressure on this ally, but preparation for the decisive battle with the enemy. For while it has been flirting with the Zemstvos and has granted them some paltry concessions, the government has not, in actual fact, conceded anything whatever to the people; it may still well revert to (or rather continue) its reactionary course, as has happened in Russia tens and hundreds of times after a momentary flash of liberalism from one autocrat or another. At a moment like this, when the government is flirting with

the Zemstvos and the people are being hoodwinked and lulled with empty words, we must particularly beware of the fox's cunning, must be particularly insistent in pointing out that the enemy has yet to be defeated, must call with particular vigour for continuing and intensifying the fight against the enemy, and not shift the emphasis from "approaching" the government to approaching the Zemstvos. None other than the notorious cream-skimmers and betrayers of freedom are hard at work at this moment to put the Zemstvos in the focus of public and popular attention and to inspire confidence in them, when actually they do not in the least deserve the confidence of genuine democrats. Take *Novoye Vremya*: in the article we have already quoted you will find the following argument: "Anyone can see that once all our failings and shortcomings can be boldly and candidly discussed and there is freedom for the activity of every public personality, it should not be long before we see the last of these shortcomings and Russia is able to set foot confidently on the path of the progress and improvement she so sorely needs. We do not even have to invent the organisation to serve as the instrument of this progress: it is already to hand in the form of the Zemstvos, which only [!] need to be given the freedom to grow; therein lies the earnest of genuinely national, not borrowed, progress." This kind of talk not only "conceals a desire for a limited monarchy and a qualified-franchise constitution" (as the editors put it elsewhere in their letter); it directly prepares the ground for reducing the whole business to a bestowal of smiles on the Zemstvos, without even any limitation of the monarchy.

Making pressure on the Zemstvos instead of on the government the focal point leads naturally to the unfortunate idea that underlay Starover's resolution—the idea of trying to find, now at once, a basis for some sort of "agreements" with the liberals. "As regards the present Zemstvos," the editors say in their letter, "our task reduces itself [!] to presenting to them those political demands of the revolutionary proletariat which they must support if they are to have any right to speak in the name of the people and count on the energetic support of the worker masses." A fine definition of the tasks of the workers' party, I must say! At a time when an alliance of the moderate Zemstvo-ists and the government to fight the revolutionary proletariat is only too clearly possible and probable (the editors themselves admit the possibility of such an alliance), we are to "reduce" our task, not to redoubling our efforts in the struggle against the government, but to drawing up casuistic conditions for agreements with the liberals on mutual support. If I put before someone demands which he must undertake to support to have me support him, what I am doing is concluding an agreement. And we ask all and sundry: what has become of the "conditions" for agreements with the liberals which were prescribed in Starover's resolution* (signed also by Axelrod and Martov), and which our press has already predicted could never be fulfilled? The editors' letter

* The reader will recall that Starover's resolution, which was passed by the Congress (in spite of Plekhanov's opinion and mine), lays down three conditions for temporary agreements with the liberals: 1) the liberals "shall clearly and unambiguously

does not say a word about these conditions. The editors advocated the resolution at the Congress only to throw it into the waste-paper basket afterwards. At the very first attempt to tackle the matter in practice it became apparent that presenting Starover's "conditions" would only provoke Homeric laughter from the Zemstvo liberals.

Let us proceed. Can it in general be acknowledged correct *in principle* to set the workers' party the task of presenting to the liberal democrats or the Zemstvo-ists political demands "which they must support if they are to have any right to speak in the name of the people"? No, such an approach is wrong in principle and can only obscure the class consciousness of the proletariat and lead to the most futile casuistry. To speak in the name of the people is what speaking as a democrat means. Any democrat (the bourgeois democrat included) has a right to speak in the name of the people, but he has this right only insofar as he champions democracy consistently, resolutely, going all the way. Consequently, *every* bourgeois democrat "has some right to speak in the name of the people" (for every bourgeois democrat, so long as he remains a democrat, champions some democratic demand); but at the same time *no* bourgeois democrat has a right to speak in the name of the people all along the line (for no bourgeois democrat is capable today of championing democracy resolutely and all the way). Mr. Struve has a right to speak in the name of the people insofar as *Osvobozhdeniye* fights against the autocracy; but Mr. Struve has no right to speak in the name of the people insofar as *Osvobozhdeniye* turns and twists, stops short at a qualified-franchise constitution, equates Zemstvo opposition with struggle, and will not commit itself to a clear and consistent democratic programme. The German National-Liberals had a right to speak in the name of the people insofar as they fought for freedom of movement. The German National-Liberals had no right to speak in the name of the people insofar as they supported the reactionary policy of Bismarck.

Therefore, to set the workers' party the task of presenting to the liberal bourgeois demands which they must support in order to have any right to speak in the name of the people is an absurd and nonsensical proceeding. There is no need for us to invent any special democratic demands over and above those contained in our programme. In the name of that programme we must support every democrat (including the bourgeois democrat) insofar as he champions democracy, and must relentlessly expose every democrat (including the Socialist-Revolutionary) insofar as he deviates from democracy (as, for instance, in such questions as the freedom of the peasant to leave the commune or to sell his land). As for trying to establish in advance the permissible degree of turpitude, so to speak, to determine beforehand what deviations

declare that in their struggle against the autocratic government they will resolutely side with the Social-Democrats"; 2) "they shall not include in their programmes any demands running counter to the interests of the working class or the democracy generally, or obscuring their political consciousness"; 3) "they shall make universal, equal, secret, and direct suffrage the slogan of their struggle".

from democracy a democrat can permit himself and still have some right to speak as a democrat, that is such a clever idea that one can't help wondering whether Comrade Martynov or Comrade Dan did not lend our editors a hand in inventing it.

III

After setting forth their guiding political considerations, the editors' letter proceeds to expound the details of their great plan.

The Gubernia Zemstvo Assemblies are petitioning for a constitution. In the towns of X, Y, Z, our committeemen plus the enlightened workers draw up a plan of political campaign "according to Axelrod". The focal point in their agitation is pressure on the bourgeois opposition. An organising group is elected. The organising group elects an executive committee. The executive committee elects a special spokesman. Efforts are made "to bring the masses into direct contact with the Zemstvo Assembly, to concentrate the demonstration before the actual premises where the Zemstvo assemblymen are in session. Some of the demonstrators penetrate into the session hall, and at a suitable moment, through the spokesman specially authorised for the purpose, they ask the permission of the Assembly [of the Marshal of the Nobility, who presides at the Assembly?] to read out a statement on behalf of the workers. If this is not granted, the spokesman enters a loud protest against the refusal of an Assembly which speaks in the name of the people to hear the voice of the people's genuine representatives".

Such is the new *Iskra's* new plan. We shall see in a moment how modest is the editors' opinion of it; but first let us quote their highly profound explanations as to the functions of the executive committee:

"... The executive committee must take measures in advance to ensure that the appearance of several thousand workers outside the building where the Zemstvo assemblymen are in session, and of several score or hundred in the building itself, *shall not plunge the Zemstvo-ists into panic fear* [!!], under the impact of which they might throw themselves [!] under the shameful protection of the police and Cossacks, thus transforming a peaceful demonstration into an ugly fight and brutal battering, distorting its whole meaning..." (The editors themselves seem to have been taken in by the bogey of their own making. Taking the sentence in its literal, grammatical sense, they even seem to be saying that it is the Zemstvo-ists who would be transforming the demonstration into a brutal battering and distorting its meaning. We have a very low opinion of the Zemstvo liberals, but even so the editors' panic fear that the liberals in a Zemstvo Assembly might call in the police and Cossacks seems to us quite nonsensical. Anyone who has ever attended a Zemstvo Assembly will know that, in the event of so-called disorder, the police would be sent for either by the presiding Marshal of the Nobility or by the police officer unofficially present in an adjoining room. Or perhaps the members of

the executive committee are to explain to this police officer that it is no part of the new *Iskra*'s "plan" to have a peaceful demonstration transformed into a brutal battering?)

"To obviate such a surprise, the executive committee must inform the liberal assemblymen beforehand [so that they may give a "formal promise" not to send for the Cossacks?] of the forthcoming demonstration and its true purpose (i.e., inform them that our true purpose does not consist in being brutally battered and so having the meaning of Axelrod's plan distorted]. Furthermore, it must try to reach some agreement [mark this!] with the representatives of the Left wing of the bourgeois opposition and secure, if not their active support, at any rate their sympathy with our political action. Its negotiations with them must, it need hardly be said, be conducted in the name of the Party and on the instructions of the workers' circles and meetings, in negotiations with the Zemstvo-ists concerning this panic fear would be very foolish, because not even the most moderate liberal will ever bring about such a battering or sympathise with it—but the thing does not depend upon him. What is needed here is not "negotiations", but the actual mustering of force; not pressure on the Zemstvo-ists, but pressure on the government and its agents. If we have no force behind us, better not to hold forth about great plans; and if we do have it, then it is force we must oppose to the Cossacks and police, we must try to gather a crowd of such size and in such a spot that it should be able to repel, or at least to check, the onslaught of the Cossacks and police. And if we are indeed capable of exerting "powerful" organised pressure upon the bourgeois opposition", it is assuredly not by silly "negotiations" about not causing panic fear, but by force and force alone, the force of mass resistance to the Cossacks and the tsarist police, the force of a mass onslaught capable of growing into a popular uprising.

The editors of the new *Iskra* see things differently. They are so pleased with their plan for an agreement and negotiations that they cannot admire it enough, cannot find praise enough to lavish on it.

... The active demonstrators must be "imbued with an understanding of the fundamental difference between an ordinary demonstration against the police or the government in general, and a demonstration immediately designed to further the struggle against absolutism, through direct pressure by the revolutionary proletariat on the political tactics [indeed!] of the liberal elements at the *present* [italicised by the editors] moment . . . To organise demonstrations of the ordinary, so to speak, general-democratic [!] type, not aiming directly at a concrete counterposing of the revolutionary proletariat and the liberal bourgeois opposition as two independent political forces, the mere existence of strong political ferment among the masses is sufficient . . . Our Party must utilise this mood of the masses even for such, so to say, a lower type [note that!] of their mobilisation against absolutism . . . We are taking our first [!] steps on a new [!] path of political activity, the path of organising planned intervention by the worker masses which should not only discuss the general plan of the

political campaign but hear reports of its progress—the rules of secrecy being, of course, strictly observed.”

Yes, yes, we can well see that Starover’s great idea of an agreement with the liberals on the basis of exactly prescribed conditions is gaining strength and substance daily and hourly. To be sure, all these exactly prescribed conditions have been shelved “for the time being” (we are no formalists!); but, on the other hand, an agreement is being reached in practice, now, at once, viz., *an agreement not to cause panic fear*.

Whichever way one reads the editors’ letter, no other meaning of its famous “agreement” with the liberals can be found than that we have indicated: either it is an agreement about the conditions on which the liberals would have a right to speak in the name of the people (and in that case the very idea of it very seriously discredits the Social-Democrats who advance it); or else it is an agreement about not causing panic fear, an agreement about sympathising with a peaceful demonstration—in which case it is just nonsense that can hardly be discussed seriously. Nor could the absurd idea of the paramount importance of pressure on the bourgeois opposition, instead of on the government, have resulted in anything but an absurdity. If we are in a position to organise an imposing mass demonstration of workers in the hall of a Zemstvo Assembly, we shall, of course, do so (though if we have forces enough for a mass demonstration it would be much better to “concentrate” them “before the premises” not of the Zemstvo, but of the police, the gendarmerie, or the censorship). But to be swayed when doing so by considerations like the Zemstvo-ists’ panic fears, and to engage in negotiations on that score, would be the height of ineptitude, the height of absurdity. Among a good proportion, most likely the majority, of Russia’s Zemstvo-ists, the very *content* of a speech by a consistent Social-Democrat will always and inevitably arouse panic fear. To parley with the Zemstvo-ists beforehand about the undesirability of *that* sort of panic fear would place one in the falsest and most undignified kind of position. A brutal battering, or the prospect of one, will just as inevitably arouse panic fear of another sort. To engage [N. B.] in public life with the direct aim of counterposing them to the bourgeois opposition as an independent force, which has opposite class interests, but which at the same time offers it conditions [what conditions?] for waging a vigorous joint struggle against the common enemy.”

It is not given to everyone to appreciate all the profundity of this remarkable disquisition. The Rostov demonstration, where thousands and thousands of workers were made familiar with the aims of socialism and the demands of working-class democracy, is a “lower type of mobilisation”, the ordinary, *general-democratic* type; here there is no concrete counterposing of the revolutionary proletariat and the bourgeois opposition. But when a specially authorised spokesman appointed by an executive committee, which has been elected by an organising group, which has been set up by the committeemen and active workers—when that spokesman, after first negotiating with the Zemstvo-ists, enters a loud protest in the Zemstvo Assembly because it declines

to hear him—that will be a “concrete” and “direct” counterposing of two independent forces, that will be “direct” pressure on the tactics of the liberals, that will be “a first step on a new path”. For heaven’s sake, gentlemen! Why, even Martynov in the worst days of *Rabocheye Dyelo* hardly sank quite so low as this!

The mass meetings of workers in the streets of the southern towns, dozens of worker speakers, direct clashes with the real, tangible force of the tsarist autocracy—all that is a “lower type of mobilisation”. Agreements with the Zemstvo-ists about a peaceful statement by our spokesman who will undertake not to cause panic among Messrs. the liberals—that is a “new path”. There you have the new tactical tasks, the new tactical views of the new *Iskra*, of which the world was informed with such pomp by the editorial Balalaikin. On one point, though, this Balalaikin happened to speak the truth: between the old *Iskra* and the new there is indeed a yawning gulf. The old *Iskra* had only contempt and derision for people who could admire, as a “new path”, a theatrically staged agreement between classes. *This* new path is one we have long known, from the record of those French and German Socialist “statesmen” who similarly regard the old revolutionary tactics as a “lower type” and never weary of praising “planned and direct intervention in public life” in the form of agreements to allow the workers’ spokesmen to make peaceful and modest statements after negotiations with the Left wing of the bourgeois opposition.

The editors are in such panic fear of the panic fear of the Zemstvo liberals that they insistently enjoin “particular caution” on those who take part in their “new” plan. “As an extreme case of external caution in the way the action is actually carried out,” says the letter, “we can envisage mailing the workers’ statement to the assemblymen’s homes and scattering a considerable number of copies in the Zemstvo Assembly hall. Only people affected with bourgeois revolutionism [*sic!*], for which the external effect is everything and the process of the systematic development of the class-consciousness and initiative of the proletariat is nothing, could have any objection to this.”

Well, we are not wont to object to the mailing or scattering of leaflets, but we shall certainly always object to pompous and hollow phrase-mongering. To make the mailing and scattering of leaflets the occasion for talking with serious mien about the process of the systematic development of the class-consciousness and initiative of the proletariat, one must be a veritable paragon of complacent banality. To clamour from the housetops about new tactical tasks and then reduce the whole thing to the mailing and scattering of leaflets is really priceless; and nothing could be more characteristic of the exponents of the intellectualist trend in our Party, who, now that their new words in organisation have proved a fiasco, rush about frantically in search of a new word in tactics. And then they talk, with their usual modesty, about the vanity of external effect! Can’t you see, my good sirs, that at best, even supposing your so-called new plan were entirely successful, having a workingman address the Zemstvo gentry would only achieve an external effect, and that to talk of

its really exerting "powerful" pressure on "the tactics of the liberal elements" is nothing but a joke? Is it not rather the other way round—that what has really exerted powerful pressure on the tactics of the liberal elements is those mass workers' demonstrations which to you are of the "ordinary, general-democratic, lower type"? And if the Russian proletariat is destined again to exert effective pressure on the tactics of the liberals, it will, I assure you, be by a mass onslaught against the government, not by an agreement with the Zemstvo-ists.

IV

The Zemstvo campaign, launched with the gracious permission of the police; the blandishments of Svyatopolk-Mirsky and the government press; the rising tone of the liberal press; the animation in what is known as educated society—all this faces the workers' party with very serious tasks indeed. But these tasks are quite wrongly formulated in the letter of the *Iskra* editors. At this of all times, the political activity of the proletariat must be focused on organising powerful pressure on the government, not on the liberal opposition. Particularly now, agreements between the workers and the Zemstvo-ists about peaceful demonstrations—agreements which would inevitably boil down to the staging of musical-comedy effects—are utterly out of place; what is needed is to rally the advanced, revolutionary elements of the proletariat in preparation for a decisive struggle for freedom. Particularly now, when our constitutional movement is beginning conspicuously to display the original sins of all bourgeois liberalism, and notably the Russian variety—phrase-mongering, inconsistency of word and action, a sheerly philistine disposition to trust the government and every adroit politician—talk about the undesirability of frightening and panicking the Zemstvo gentry, about levers for reaction, etc., etc., is especially out of place. Particularly now, it is vital to build up in the revolutionary proletariat the firm conviction that the present "emancipation movement in society" will necessarily and inevitably prove a bubble like all the others before it unless the force of the worker masses, capable of and ready for an uprising, intervenes.

The political unrest among all sections of the people—that essential condition for an uprising and earnest of its success, an earnest that the initiative of the proletariat will meet with support—is spreading, growing, becoming more intense all the time. It would therefore be very poor judgement if at this moment anyone were to start shouting again for immediate launching of the assault, for forming at once into assault battalions, etc. The whole course of events goes to show that the tsarist government will very soon find itself in a still worse tangle and faced with an even more formidable resentment. The game it has started with the Zemstvo constitutionalists is bound to get it into a tangle: whether it makes some paltry concessions or whether it makes no concessions at all, discontent and exasperation will inevitably spread still wider. And it is likewise bound to get into a tangle with its shameful and crimi-

nal Manchurian adventure, which spells a political crisis in either event: decisive military defeat, or the protraction of a war so hopeless for Russia.

What the working class must do is to broaden and strengthen its organisation and redouble its agitation among the masses, making the most of every vacillation of the government, propagating the idea of an uprising, demonstrating the necessity for it from the example of all those half-hearted and foredoomed "steps" about which so much fuss is now being made. It need hardly be said that the workers' response to the Zemstvo petitions must be to call meetings, scatter leaflets, and—where there are forces enough—organise demonstrations to present all the Social-Democratic demands, regardless of the "panic" of Mr. Trubetskoy and his like or of the philistines' cries about levers for reaction. And if one is really to risk talking in advance, and from abroad at that, about a possible and desirable higher type of *mass* demonstration (because demonstrations not of a mass nature are altogether without significance); if one is really to discuss before what particular premises the demonstrators' forces should be concentrated—we would point to the premises where the business of police persecution of the working-class movement is carried on, to the police, gendarmerie, censorship headquarters, to the places where political "offenders" are confined. The way for the workers to give serious support to the Zemstvo petitions is not by concluding agreements about the conditions on which the Zemstvo-ists would have a right to speak in the name of the people, but by striking a blow at the people's enemies. And there need be little doubt that the idea of such a demonstration will meet with the sympathy of the proletariat. The workers nowadays hear magniloquent phrases and lofty promises on every hand, they see a real—infinitesimal but nonetheless real—extension of freedom for "society" (a slackening of the curb on the Zemstvos, the return of banished Zemstvo-ists, an abatement of the ferocity against the liberal press); but they see nothing whatever that gives *their* political struggle more freedom. Under pressure of the revolutionary onslaught of the *proletariat* the government has allowed the *liberals* to talk a little about freedom! The condition of the slaves of capital, downtrodden and deprived of rights, now comes home to the proletarians more clearly than ever. The workers do not have any regular widespread organisations for the relatively free (by Russian standards) discussion of political matters; nor halls to hold meetings in; nor newspapers of their own; and their exiled and imprisoned comrades are not coming back. The workers see now that the liberal bourgeois gentry are setting about dividing the bearskin, the skin of the bear which the workers have not yet killed, but which they, and they alone, have seriously wounded. They see that, at the very start of dividing the skin in anticipation, these liberal bourgeois gentry already snap and snarl at the "extreme parties", at the "enemies at home"—the relentless enemies of bourgeois rule and bourgeois law and order. And the workers will rise still more fearlessly, in still greater numbers, to finish off the bear, to win by force *for themselves* what is promised as charity to the liberal bourgeois gentry—

freedom of assembly, freedom of the workers' press, full political freedom for a broad and open struggle for the complete victory of socialism.

We are issuing this pamphlet with the superscription "For Party Members Only" inasmuch as the *Iskra* editors' "letter" was issued with that superscription. Actually, to stage "secrecy precautions" in regard to a plan that is to be circulated to dozens of towns, discussed in hundreds of workers' circles, and explained in agitation leaflets and appeals is nothing short of ridiculous. It is an instance of the bureaucratic mystification which Comrade Galyorka, in "On the New Road", has already noted to be a practice of the editors and the Council. There is just one angle from which one might justify concealing the editorial letter from the public in general and the liberals in particular: a letter like that is altogether too discreditable to our Party . . .

We are cancelling the superscription restricting the readership of this pamphlet, since our so-called Party editorial board has issued a reply to it that is supposedly for the Party membership but is in fact circulated only to gatherings of the minority and withheld from Party members known to belong to the majority.

If *Iskra* has decided not to consider us Party members (while at the same time fearing to say so openly), we can only resign ourselves to our sad fate and draw the appropriate conclusions from that decision.

December 22, 1904*

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Collected Works, Vol. 7, pp. 499—518

Revolutionary Days

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN RUSSIA?

Revolt or revolution? This is the question that European journalists and reporters have been asking themselves in connection with the events in St. Petersburg, which they are reporting to the whole world and attempting to evaluate. Are they rebels or insurgents—the tens of thousands of proletarians against whom the tsarist army successfully took the field? And the foreign papers, though sooner in a position to view the events with "detachment", with the impartiality of chroniclers, find it difficult to answer the question. They are constantly getting their terms mixed. And small wonder. It is not

* The date relates to the postscript only — *Ed.*

without reason that a revolution is said to be a successful revolt, and a revolt an unsuccessful revolution. People who witness the beginning of great and momentous events, who can obtain only very incomplete, inexact, and third-hand information of what is taking place, will not, of course, hazard a definite opinion until a timelier moment comes. The bourgeois papers, which continue as of old to speak of revolt, rioting, and disturbances, cannot help seeing the truly national, nay, international, significance of these events. Yet it is this significance which invests events with the character of revolution. And those who have been writing of the last days of the rioting find themselves involuntarily referring to them as the first days of the revolution. A turning-point in Russia's history has been reached. This is not denied even by the most hidebound of European conservatives, however enthusiastic and sentimental they may wax over the mighty, unrestricted power of the all-Russian autocracy. Peace between the autocracy and the people is unthinkable. Revolution is not only in the mouths of a few fearless souls, not only of "nihilists"—as Europe persists in calling the Russian revolutionaries—but of every person capable of taking any interest in world politics.

The Russian working-class movement has risen to a higher level in the last few days. It is developing before our very eyes into a national uprising. Naturally, here in Geneva, so damnably far away, we find it exceedingly difficult to keep pace with events. But so long as we have to linger at such an accursed distance, we must try to keep pace with events, to sum them up, to draw conclusions, to draw from the experience of today's happenings lessons that will be useful tomorrow, in another place, where today "the people are still mute" and where in the near future, in some form or other, a revolutionary conflagration will break out. We must make it the constant job of publicists to write the history of the present day, and to try to write it in such a way that our chronicles will give the greatest possible help to the direct participants in the movement and to the heroic proletarians there, on the scene of action—to write it in such a way as to promote the spread of the movement, the conscious selection of the means, ways, and methods of struggle that, with the least expenditure of effort, will yield the most substantial and permanent results.

In the history of revolutions there come to light contradictions that have ripened for decades and centuries. Life becomes unusually eventful. The masses, which have always stood in the shade and have therefore often been ignored and even despised by superficial observers, enter the political arena as active combatants. These masses are learning in practice, and before the eyes of the world are taking their first tentative steps, feeling their way, defining their objectives, testing themselves and the theories of all their ideologists. These masses are making heroic efforts to rise to the occasion and cope with the gigantic tasks of world significance imposed upon them by history; and however great individual defeats may be, however shattering to us the rivers of blood and the thousands of victims, nothing will ever compare in importance with this direct training that the masses and the classes receive in the course

of the revolutionary struggle itself. The history of this struggle is measured in days. And for good reason some foreign newspapers have already started a "diary of the Russian revolution". Let us, too, start one.

Published in *Vperyod*, No. 4,
January 31 (18), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 8, pp. 103–104

To the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.

FROM LENIN TO THE MEMBERS OF THE C.C., PRIVATE

(Extract)

July 11, 1905

Dear friends,

A number of letters from all over Russia, Alexandrov's news, a talk with Kleshch and several other new arrivals—all this strengthens my conviction that there is some internal defect in the work of the C.C., a defect of organisation, in the way the work is arranged. The general opinion is that there is no Central Committee, that it does not make itself felt, that no one notices it. And the facts confirm this. There is no evidence of the C.C.'s political guidance of the Party. Yet all the C.C. members are working themselves to death! What's the matter?

In my opinion, one of the principal causes of it is that there are no regular C.C. leaflets. Leadership by means of talks and personal contacts at a time of revolution is sheer utopianism. Leadership must be public. *All other* forms of work must be wholly and unconditionally subordinated to this form. A responsible C.C. litterateur should concern himself first of all with writing (or obtaining from contributors—though the editor himself should always be prepared to write) a leaflet twice a week on Party and political topics (the liberals, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Minority, the split, the Zemstvo delegation, the trade unions, etc., etc.) and republishing it in every way, immediately mimeographing in 50 copies (if there is no printing-press) and circulating it to the committees for republication. Articles in *Proletary* could, perhaps, sometimes be used for such leaflets—after a certain amount of revision. I cannot understand why this is not being done! Can Schmidt and Werner have forgotten our talks on this? Surely it is possible to write and circulate at least one leaflet a week? The Report on the Third Congress has not been reprinted in full anywhere in Russia all this time. It is so outrageous, such a fiasco for all the C.C.'s famous "techniques" that I simply cannot understand what Winter was thinking about, what Sommer and the others are thinking about! After all, are there not committee print-shops in existence?

Apparently, the C.C. members completely fail to understand the tasks of "keeping in the public eye". Yet without that there is no centre, there is no Party! They are working themselves to the bone, but they are working like moles, at secret rendezvous, at meetings, with agents, etc., etc. It is a sheer waste of strength! If you are short-handed, then put third-rate forces on the job, even tenth-rate ones, but attend to the political leadership yourselves, issue leaflets first and foremost. And then — personal appearances and speeches at district meetings (in Polesye no one attended the meeting. A scandal. They all but broke away!), at conferences, etc. Something like a C.C. diary should be published, a C.C. bulletin, and every important question should be dealt with in a leaflet issued twice a week. It is not difficult to publish one: 50 copies can be run off on a hectograph and circulated, one of the committees can print it and have copies sent to us. The thing is to *act*, to act *all the time* openly, to stop being dumb. Otherwise we here, too, are completely cut off.

Sent from Geneva to Russia
First published in 1926

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 314—315

Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution

(Extracts)

II COMRADE MARTYNOV AGAIN GIVES "PROFUNDITY" TO THE QUESTION

Vperyod and *Proletary* use the concepts of dictatorship and revolution "interchangeably". *Iskra* does not want such "interchangeability". Just so, most esteemed Comrade Martynov! You have unwittingly stated a great truth. With this *new* formulation you have confirmed our contention that *Iskra* is lagging behind the revolution and straying into an *Osvobozhdeniye* formulation of its tasks, whereas *Vperyod* and *Proletary* are issuing slogans that advance the democratic revolution.

III THE VULGAR BOURGEOIS AND THE MARXIST VIEWS ON DICTATORSHIP

In his notes to Marx's articles from the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 1848, which he published, Mehring tells us that one of the reproaches levelled at this newspaper by bourgeois publications was that it had allegedly demanded "the immediate introduction of a dictatorship as the sole means of achieving democracy" (Marx, *Nachlass*, Vol. III, p. 53). From the vulgar bourgeois standpoint the terms dictatorship and democracy are mutually exclusive.

Failing to understand the theory of class struggle and accustomed to seeing in the political arena the petty squabbling of the various bourgeois circles and coteries, the bourgeois understands by dictatorship the annulment of all liberties and guarantees of democracy, arbitrariness of every kind, and every sort of abuse of power in a dictator's personal interests. In fact, it is precisely this vulgar bourgeois view that is manifested in the writings of our Martynov, who winds up his "new campaign" in the new *Iskra* by attributing the partiality of *Vperyod* and *Proletary* for the slogan of dictatorship to Lenin's "passionate desire to try his luck" (*Iskra*, No. 103, p. 3, col. 2). In order to explain to Martynov the meaning of the term class dictatorship, as distinct from personal dictatorship, and the tasks of a democratic dictatorship, as distinct from those of a socialist dictatorship, it would not be amiss to dwell on the views of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

"After a revolution", wrote the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on September 14, 1848, "every provisional organisation of the state requires a dictatorship and an energetic dictatorship at that. From the very beginning we have reproached Camphausen" (the head of the Ministry after March 18, 1848) "for not acting dictatorially, for not having immediately smashed up and eliminated the remnants of the old institutions. And while Herr Camphausen was lulling himself with constitutional illusions the defeated party (i. e., the party of reaction) strengthened its positions in the bureaucracy and in the army, and here and there even began to venture upon open struggle."

These words, Mehring justly remarks, sum up in a few propositions all that was propounded in detail in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in long articles on the Camphausen Ministry. What do these words of Marx tell us? That a provisional revolutionary government *must* act dictatorially (a proposition which *Iskra* was totally unable to grasp since it was fighting shy of the slogan of dictatorship), and that the task of such a dictatorship is to destroy the remnants of the old institutions (which is precisely what was clearly stated in the resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party on the struggle against counter-revolution and was omitted in the resolution of the Conference, as shown above). Thirdly, and lastly, it follows from these words that Marx castigated the bourgeois democrats for entertaining "constitutional illusions" in a period of revolution and open civil war. The meaning of these words becomes particularly obvious from the article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of June 6, 1848. "A constituent national assembly," Marx wrote, "must first of all be an active, revolutionary-active assembly. The Frankfurt Assembly, however, is busying itself with school exercises in parliamentarianism while allowing the government to act. Let us assume that this learned assembly succeeds, after mature consideration, in evolving the best possible agenda and the best constitution, but what is the use of the best possible agenda and of the best possible constitution, if the German governments have in the meantime placed the bayonet on the agenda?"

That is the meaning of the slogan: dictatorship. We can judge from this

what Marx's attitude would have been towards resolutions which call a "decision to organise a constituent assembly" a decisive victory, or which invite us to "remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition"!

Major questions in the life of nations are settled only by force. The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to "place the bayonet on the agenda", as the Russian autocracy has systematically and unswervingly been doing everywhere ever since January 9. And since such a situation has arisen, since the bayonet has really become the main point on the political agenda, since insurrection has proved imperative and urgent—constitutional illusions and school exercises in parliamentarianism become merely a screen for the bourgeois betrayal of the revolution, a screen to conceal the fact that the bourgeoisie is "recoiling" from the revolution. It is precisely the slogan of dictatorship that the genuinely revolutionary class must advance, in that case.

On the question of the tasks of this dictatorship Marx wrote in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*: "The National Assembly should have acted dictatorially against the reactionary attempts of the obsolete governments; and thus gain for itself the power of public opinion against which all bayonets and rifle butts would be shattered . . . But this Assembly bores the German people instead of carrying them with it or being carried away by them." In Marx's opinion, the National Assembly should have "eliminated from the regime actually existing in Germany everything that contradicted the principle of the sovereignty of the people", and then it should have "established the revolutionary ground on which it stands in order to make the sovereignty of the people, won by the revolution, secure against all attacks".

Consequently, in their content the tasks which Marx set a revolutionary government or dictatorship in 1848 amounted first and foremost to a *democratic* revolution: defence against counter-revolution and the actual elimination of everything that contradicted the sovereignty of the people. That is nothing else than a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship.

To proceed: which classes, in Marx's opinion, could and should have achieved this task (to fully exercise in deed the principle of the people's sovereignty and beat off the attacks of the counter-revolution)? Marx speaks of the "people". But we know that he always fought ruthlessly against petty-bourgeois illusions about the unity of the "people" and the absence of a class struggle within the people. In using the word "people" Marx did not thereby gloss over class distinctions, but united definite elements capable of bringing the revolution to completion.

After the victory of the Berlin proletariat on March 18, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* wrote, the results of the revolution proved twofold: "On the one hand, the arming of the people, the right of association, the actual achievement of the sovereignty of the people; on the other hand, the retention of the monarchy and the Camphausen-Hanseemann Ministry, i.e., the government of representatives of the big bourgeoisie. Thus, the revolution had two series of

results, which had inevitably to diverge. The people had achieved victory; they had won liberties of a decisively democratic nature, but immediate power did not pass into their hands, but into the hands of the big bourgeoisie. In short, the revolution was not consummated. The people let representatives of the big bourgeoisie form a ministry, and these representatives of the big bourgeoisie at once showed what they were after by offering an alliance to the old Prussian nobility and bureaucracy. Arnim, Canitz, and Schwerin joined the ministry.

"The upper bourgeoisie, ever anti-revolutionary, concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the reactionaries for fear of the people, that is to say, the workers and the democratic bourgeoisie." (Italics ours.)

Thus, not only a "decision to organise a constituent assembly", but even its actual convocation is insufficient for a decisive victory of the revolution! Even after a partial victory in an armed struggle (the victory of the Berlin workers over the troops on March 18, 1848) an "incomplete" revolution, a revolution "that has not been carried to completion", is possible. On what, then, does its completion depend? It depends on whose hands immediate power passes into, into the hands of the Petrunkeviches and Rodichevs, that is to say, the Camphausens and the Hansemanns, or into the hands of the *people*, i.e., the workers and the democratic bourgeoisie. In the first instance, the bourgeoisie will possess power, and the proletariat — "freedom of criticism", freedom to "remain the party of extreme revolutionary opposition". Immediately after the victory the bourgeoisie will conclude an alliance with the reactionaries (this would inevitably happen in Russia too, if, for example, the St. Petersburg workers gained only a partial victory in street fighting with the troops and left it to Messrs. Petrunkeviches and Co. to form a government). In the second instance, a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, i.e., the complete victory of the revolution, would be possible.

It now remains to define more precisely what Marx really meant by "democratic bourgeoisie" (*demokratische Bürgerschaft*), which, together with the workers, he called the people, in contradistinction to the big bourgeoisie.

A clear answer to this question is supplied by the following passage from an article in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of July 29, 1848: "... The German Revolution of 1848 is only a parody of the French Revolution of 1789.

"On August 4, 1789, three weeks after the storming of the Bastille, the French people in a single day prevailed over all feudal burdens.

"On July 11, 1848, four months after the March barricades, the feudal burdens prevailed over the German people. *Teste Gierke cum Hansemanno*.*

"The French bourgeoisie of 1789 did not for a moment leave its allies,

* "Witnesses: Herr Gierke together with Herr Hansemann." Hansemann was a Minister who represented the party of the big bourgeoisie (Russian counterpart: Trubetskoy or Rodichev, and the like); Gierke was Minister of Agriculture in the Hansemann Cabinet, who drew up a plan, a "bold" plan for "abolishing feudal burdens", professedly "without compensation", but in fact for abolishing only the minor and unimportant

the peasants, in the lurch. It knew that its rule was grounded in the destruction of feudalism in the countryside, the creation of a free landowning (*grundbesitzenden*) peasant class.

"The German bourgeoisie of 1848 is, without the least compunction, betraying the peasants, who are its most natural allies, the flesh of its flesh, and without whom it is powerless against the aristocracy."

"The continuance of feudal rights, their sanction under the guise of (illusory) redemption—such is the result of the German Revolution of 1848. The mountain brought forth a mouse."

This is a very instructive passage, which provides us with four important propositions: 1) The uncompleted German revolution differs from the completed French revolution in that the German bourgeoisie betrayed not only democracy in general, but also the peasantry in particular. 2) The creation of a free class of peasants is the foundation for the consummation of a democratic revolution. 3) The creation of such a class means the abolition of feudal services, the destruction of feudalism, but does not yet mean a socialist revolution. 4) The peasants are the "most natural" allies of the bourgeoisie, that is to say, of the democratic bourgeoisie, which without them is "powerless" against reaction.

With the proper allowances for concrete national peculiarities and with serfdom substituted for feudalism, all these propositions are fully applicable to the Russia of 1905. There is no doubt that by learning from the experience of Germany as elucidated by Marx, we can arrive at no other slogan for a decisive victory of the revolution than: a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. There is no doubt that the proletariat and the peasantry are the chief components of the "people" as contrasted by Marx in 1848 to the resisting reactionaries and the treacherous bourgeoisie. There is no doubt that in Russia, too, the liberal bourgeoisie and the gentlemen of the *Osvobozhdeniye* League are betraying and will betray the peasantry, i.e., will confine themselves to a pseudoreform and take the side of the landlords in the decisive battle between them and the peasantry. In this struggle only the proletariat is capable of supporting the peasantry to the end. There is no doubt, finally, that in Russia, too, the success of the peasants' struggle, i.e., the transfer of the whole of the land to the peasantry, will signify a complete democratic revolution, and constitute the social basis of the revolution carried through to its completion, but this will by no means be a socialist revolution, or the "socialisation" that the ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, talk about. The success of the peasant insurrection, the victory of the democratic revolution will merely clear the way for a genuine and decisive struggle for socialism, on the basis of a democratic republic.

burdens, while preserving or granting compensation for the more essential ones. Herr Gierke was something like the Russian Kablukovs, Manuilovs, Hertzensteins, and similar bourgeois liberal friends of the muzhik, who desire the "extension of peasant landownership" but do not wish to offend the landlords.

In this struggle the peasantry, as a landowning class, will play the same treacherous, unstable part as is now being played by the bourgeoisie in the struggle for democracy. To forget this is to forget socialism, to deceive oneself and others, regarding the real interests and tasks of the proletariat.

In order to leave no gaps in the presentation of the views held by Marx in 1848, it is necessary to note one essential difference between German Social-Democracy of that time (or the Communist Party of the proletariat, to use the language of that period) and present-day Russian Social-Democracy. Here is what Mehring says:

"The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared in the political arena as the 'organ of democracy'. There is no mistaking the trend running through all its articles. But in the direct sense it championed the interests of the bourgeois revolution against absolutism and feudalism more than the interests of the proletariat against those of the bourgeoisie. Very little is to be found in its columns about an independent working-class movement during the years of the revolution, although one should not forget that along with it there appeared, twice a week, under the editorship of Moll and Schapper, a special organ of the Cologne Workers' League. At any rate, the present-day reader will be struck by the little attention the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* paid to the German working-class movement of its day, although Stephan Born, its most capable mind, was a pupil of Marx and Engels in Paris and Brussels, and in 1848 was their newspaper's Berlin correspondent. In his *Memoirs* Born says that Marx and Engels never expressed a single word in disapproval of his agitation among the workers. However, subsequent statements by Engels make it appear quite probable that they were at least dissatisfied with the methods of this agitation. Their dissatisfaction was justified inasmuch as Born was obliged to make many concessions to the as yet totally undeveloped class-consciousness of the proletariat in the greater part of Germany, concessions which do not stand the test of criticism from the viewpoint of the *Communist Manifesto*. Their dissatisfaction was unjustified inasmuch as Born managed nonetheless to maintain his agitation on a relatively high plane . . . Without doubt, Marx and Engels were historically and politically right in thinking that the primary interest of the working class was to drive the bourgeois revolution as far forward as possible . . . Nevertheless, remarkable proof of how the elementary instinct of the working-class movement is able to correct conceptions of the most brilliant thinkers is provided by the fact that in April 1849 they declared in favour of a specific workers' organisation and decided to participate in a workers' congress which was being prepared especially by the East Elbe (Eastern Prussia) proletariat."

Thus, it was only in April 1849, after a revolutionary newspaper had been appearing for almost a year (the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* began publication on June 1, 1848) that Marx and Engels declared in favour of a special workers' organisation! Until then they were merely running an "organ of democracy" unlinked by any organisational ties with an independent workers' party. This

fact, monstrous and improbable as it may appear from our present-day standpoint, clearly shows us the enormous difference between the German Social-Democratic Party of those days and the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party of today. This fact shows how much less the proletarian features of the movement, the proletarian current within it, were in evidence in the German democratic revolution (because of the backwardness of Germany in 1848 both economically and politically—her disunity as a state). This should not be forgotten in appraising Marx's repeated declarations during this period and somewhat later about the need for organising an independent proletarian party. Marx arrived at this practical conclusion only as a result of the experience of the democratic revolution, almost a year later—so philistine, so petty-bourgeois was the whole atmosphere in Germany at the time. To us this conclusion is the well-known and solid gain of half a century's experience of international Social-Democracy—a gain on the basis of which we *began* to organise the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. In our case there can be no question, for instance, of revolutionary proletarian newspapers standing outside the Social-Democratic Party of the proletariat, or of their appearing even for a moment simply as "organs of democracy".

Written in June-July 1905
First published as a pamphlet
in Geneva, July 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 9, pp. 123–124;
130–138

Keeping International Social-Democracy Informed of Our Party Affairs

(Extract)

In doing so we must constantly expose the indecency of the Khlestakov-like new *Iskra*. The latter has not published, either in French or in German, the full text of its Conference resolutions (which reveals its usurping arrogation of the title of Central Organ). *Iskra* has published in the European Social-Democratic press such "statistics" about organised labour that evoke nothing but laughter (suffice it to say that the new *Iskra* has not yet made so bold as to make these "statistics" public in Russian, for fear of disgracing itself, but we have printed these statistics in full in No. 9 of *Proletary*). *Iskra* is now circulating among all colonies abroad a letter over the Editorial Board's signature containing the same brand of amusing Khlestakovian claims regarding the Minority's forces, claims which have been shamefacedly withheld from Russian readers of our Social-Democratic newspapers. Publicity-mongers should be fought against to the utmost, but that struggle should be conducted in a dignified way, so as to get the public *fully informed*, and make matters as clear

as possible, without the least boasting and literary bombast, without falling into gossip and private allusions which cannot stand the light of publicity.

Proletary, No. 15, September 5
(August 23), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 9, pp. 227–228

To the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.

(Extracts)

September 15, 1905

Dear Comrades,

I have received the money, 1,000 rubles—2,640 francs—and the first issue of *Rabochy*. It makes an excellent impression. Let us hope that it will largely solve the difficult problem of providing a popular exposition which is not boring. There is something fresh in the tone and character of the exposition. A splendid fighting spirit. In short, let me congratulate you on this success with all my heart, and wish for more. So far, I have the following minor remarks: (1) a little more should be said about *socialism*, in view of the “explanatory” nature of the organ, and (2) the fighting political slogans should be more closely and directly tied in with the *resolutions* of the Third Congress, and with the general spirit of our revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics. . .

. . . III. About money. We were all thunderstruck by your statement that the C.O. must be published “on resources from abroad”, and that the bankruptcy of the C.C. must *begin with the C.O.* You write that this is not irritation and not a rebuke. Give me leave not to believe you. To say this calmly, coolly and in all seriousness is to proclaim a *rupture* between the C.O. and the Party, and this is something you could not wish. It is something unheard of to have the Party’s C.O. published not with the Party’s resources, but on funds abroad, and to decide that the bankruptcy of the Party must *begin* (rather than end) with the C.O. If we were to take this seriously, instead of regarding it merely as a sign of nervousness on account of temporary difficulties (for in general your turnover is a “fat” one, and your prospects both of the 60,000 and the “undertaking” are three times “fatter”), we should have to take immediate steps to start publication “on resources from abroad” of an organ of the Committee of the Organisation Abroad. But, I repeat, I regard this monstrous outburst on your part only as a state of nerves, and will await our personal meeting, since, in my opinion, it is not the beginning of a break, but a misunderstanding.

Best wishes,

N. Lenin

Written in Geneva
First published in 1926
in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 149; 152–153

Preface to the Collection Twelve Years

(Extract)

What Is To Be Done? is a summary of *Iskra* tactics and *Iskra* organisational policy in 1901 and 1902. Precisely a "summary", no more and no less. That will be clear to anyone who takes the trouble to go through the file of *Iskra* for 1901 and 1902. But to pass judgement on that summary without knowing *Iskra's* struggle against the then dominant trend of Economism, without understanding that struggle, is sheer idle talk. *Iskra* fought for an organisation of professional revolutionaries. It fought with especial vigour in 1901 and 1902, vanquished Economism, the then dominant trend, and finally created this organisation in 1903. It preserved it in face of the subsequent split in the *Iskra* ranks and all the convulsions of the period of storm and stress; it preserved it throughout the Russian revolution; it preserved it intact from 1901-02 to 1907.

Published in November 1907
in the collection *Twelve Years*,
St. Petersburg

Collected Works, Vol. 13, p. 102

Two Letters

(Extract)

We have not as yet a central organ appearing regularly, following every step of the group on behalf of the whole Party and giving it direction. Our local organisations have done still very, very little in that field of work—agitation among the masses on the subject of every speech of a Social-Democrat in the Duma, explaining every mistake in this or that speech. Yet we are being asked to give it all up, to declare the struggle hopeless, to renounce use of the Duma rostrum at times like the present of 1908. Once again, that is not politics but bad nerves.

No striking acts, you say. About these "striking acts" one must distinguish two things: first, the poor state of information in the Party and, secondly, a most serious mistake of principle in the way the very question of striking acts is put.

On the first question it should be said that so far all who wanted to criticise the group in a business-like way have pointed out a number of unquestionably serious mistakes (the declaration; the voting of millions to Schwartz; the consultation with the Popular Democrats; the recognition of religion as a private

matter for the *Party*; the lack of any statement on the interpellation of the government on October 15, 1908; the lack of any clear criticism of the Cadets, etc.). To hush up these mistakes as the Mensheviks do—they find everything for the best, with the sole exception of Chilikin's speech—is simply disgusting. We should not hush up these mistakes but thrash them out publicly, in our local and non-local press, at every meeting, in agitational leaflets spread among the masses after every speech. We have done very little as yet in the way of practical criticism of the group, and acquainting the proletarian masses with such criticism. We must, all of us everywhere, set to work in this respect.

Proletary, No. 39, November 13 (26), 1908 *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, pp. 298—299

Announcement on the Publication of *Rabochaya Gazeta*

The deep crisis of the workers' movement and the Social-Democratic Party in Russia still continues. Disintegration of the Party organisations, an almost universal exodus of the intellectuals from them, confusion and wavering among the Social-Democrats who have remained loyal, dejection and apathy among fairly wide sections of the advanced proletariat, uncertainty as to the way out of this situation—such are the distinguishing features of the present position. Among the Social-Democrats there are not a few who are faint-hearted and of little faith, who are ready to despair of finding their bearings in the prevailing confusion, to despair of restoring and strengthening the Party, the R.S.D.L.P., with its revolutionary aims and traditions, who are ready to stand aloof and to isolate themselves in narrow, petty circles concerned only with “cultural” work and so forth.

The crisis continues, but its end is already clearly visible, the way out has been fully indicated and tested by the Party, the confusion and wavering has already been channelled into fairly definite tendencies, trends and factions a very clear-cut appraisal of which has been made by the Party—while the assumption of definite shape by the anti-Party tendencies and the clear appraisal of them are already half-way towards getting rid of confusion and wavering.

In order not to give way to despair and disillusion it is necessary only to understand the full depth of the sources of the crisis. One cannot skip over or avoid this crisis, one can only survive it by means of persistent struggle, for it is not accidental but engendered by the *special* stage of *both the economic and the political* development of Russia. The autocracy reigns as before. Violence is still more brutal. Tyranny is still more powerful. Economic oppression is still more brazen. But the autocracy can no longer maintain itself *merely* by the old methods. It is *compelled* to make a new attempt, an attempt at an

open alliance with the Black-Hundred feudal landlords and the Octobrist capitalists, an alliance in the Duma and through the Duma. The hopelessness of this attempt and the growth of a new revolutionary crisis are obvious to anyone who is still capable of thought. But this revolutionary crisis is being prepared in a new situation, in which classes and parties are marked by immeasurably greater consciousness, solidarity and organisation than before the Revolution of 1905. Russian liberalism has been converted from a well-meaning, dreamy, fragile and immature opposition of benevolent aspirations into a strong, parliamentarily-disciplined party of bourgeois intellectuals, who are conscious enemies of the socialist proletariat and of a revolutionary settlement of accounts with the feudal landlords by the peasant masses. To beg for concessions from the monarchy, to threaten it with revolution (hateful and terrifying to the liberals themselves), continually to betray the struggle for emancipation and desert to the enemy—such is the inevitable lot of the liberal, Constitutional-Democratic Party, inevitable owing to its class nature. The Russian peasantry has shown its capacity for mass revolutionary struggle if the latter is launched by the proletariat, and its capacity for perpetually vacillating between the liberals and the Social-Democrats. The Russian working class has shown that it is the only class that is revolutionary to the end, the only leader in the struggle for freedom, even for bourgeois freedom. And now the great task of continuing the struggle for freedom can and will be accomplished only by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, drawing with it the working and exploited masses. Operating in the new situation, among more conscious and united enemies, the working class must refashion also its own Party, the R.S.D.L.P. In place of leaders from the intelligentsia it is bringing to the fore leaders from among the workers. A new type of working-class member of the Social-Democratic Party is arising, independently carrying on *all* the activities of the Party and, compared with the previous type, capable of rallying, uniting and organising masses of the proletariat ten times and a hundred times as great as before.

It is to this new worker in the first place that we address our *Rabochaya Gazeta*. This worker has grown out of the stage of wanting to be talked to in childish language or fed with pap. He needs to know all about the political aims of the Party, how it is built, its inner-Party struggle. He is not daunted by the unvarnished truth about the Party on whose strengthening, revival and rebuilding he is engaged. He is not helped, but rather harmed, by those revolutionary phrases in general terms and those sugary conciliatory appeals which he finds in the symposia of *Vperyod* or in Trotsky's newspaper *Pravda*, without obtaining from either the one or the other a clear, precise, straightforward exposition of the Party's policy and the Party's position.

The Party's position is a very difficult one, but the chief difficulty is not that the Party has been terribly weakened and its organisations often completely shattered, nor that inner-Party factional struggle has become acute, but that the advanced section of Social-Democratic workers has not realised clearly enough the nature and significance of this struggle, has not rallied sufficiently

for waging it successfully, has not intervened in it with sufficient independence and energy for creating, supporting and consolidating that *core of the Party* which is leading the R.S.D.L.P. from disorder, collapse and wavering on to a solidly based road.

This road has been fully pointed out by the decisions of the December Conference of 1908, which were further developed in the decisions of the plenary session of the Central Committee in 1910. This Party core consists of that union of orthodox Bolsheviks (opponents of otzovism and bourgeois philosophy) and pro-Party Mensheviks (opponents of liquidationism) which at the present time is *carrying out* in practice, and not by virtue of a merely formal attitude, the main work of the R.S.D.L.P.

The workers are being told that this union only intensifies and accentuates factional struggle, a struggle against the liquidators and otzovists "instead of" a fight against liquidationism and otzovism. This is sheer phrase-mongering, mere childish talk that assumes the worker is not an adult but a child. It is an unpleasant truth that, given the weakness of the Party, the shattered state of its organisations and the inevitability of a base abroad, every trend easily becomes a faction abroad that is virtually independent of the Party, but it is ludicrous (or criminal) to hide this truth from the Social-Democratic worker who has to rebuild *his* Party on the basis of a *definite*, precise and clear Party line. There is no doubt that the most undesirable *forms* of factional struggle prevail among us at present, but precisely in order to refashion the *forms* of this struggle the advanced worker should not dismiss with a phrase or contemptuously turn up his nose at the unpleasant (unpleasant for a dilettante, a guest in the Party) task of refashioning unpleasant forms of unpleasant struggle, but should *understand* the essence and significance of this struggle and *arrange* the work in the localities in such a way that for *each* question of socialist propaganda, political agitation, the trade union movement, co-operative work, etc., etc., the *boundary* is defined beyond which begins the deviation from Social-Democracy to liberal liquidationism or semianarchist otzovism, ultimatumism, etc., and should *conduct Party affairs* along the correct line defined by these boundaries. We make it one of the main tasks of *Rabochaya Gazeta* to help the workers to fix these boundaries for each of the most important *concrete* problems of contemporary Russian life.

The workers are being told: it was the attempt at unity made by the plenary session of the Central Committee in January 1910, which proved the sterility and hopelessness of the inner-Party factional struggle that "disrupted" unity. People who talk like that are either uninformed or quite incapable of thought, or they are *concealing* their real aims by means of some sort of resonant phrases that sound well but mean nothing. The plenary session "disillusioned" only those who were afraid to face the truth and buoyed themselves up with illusions. However great at times the "conciliatory hotchpotch" at the plenum, the outcome was exactly that unity which alone is possible and necessary. If the liquidators and otzovists *signed* the resolution on the fight against liquida-

tionism and otzovism, and the next day still more "zealously" stuck to the past, this only proved how impossible it is for the Party to count on non-Party elements, it only showed more clearly what these elements are like. The Party is a voluntary association and unity is possible and useful only when people unite who are desirous and capable of carrying out a common Party policy with at least some degree of conscientiousness, or rather: who are *interested* (through their ideas or tendencies) in carrying out a *common* Party policy. Unity is impossible and harmful when it attempts to muddle and obscure the consciousness of this policy, when it attempts to bind by a fictitious tie those who are definitely pulling the Party in an anti-Party direction. And unity between the *main* groups of Bolshevism and Menshevism was achieved by the plenum and consolidated, if not thanks to the plenum, at least through the plenum.

A worker who does not want to be spoken to in childish tones cannot fail to understand that liquidationism and otzovism are just as much non-accidental, deep-rooted trends as Bolshevism and Menshevism. Only inventors of fairy-tales "for workers" explain the difference between these two last factions as due to disputes between "intellectuals". In reality these two trends, which have left their mark on the whole history of the Russian revolution, on all the first years (in many respects the most important years) of the mass workers' movement in Russia, were produced by the very process of the economic and political reconstruction of Russia from a feudal into a bourgeois country, were produced by the influences exerted on the proletariat by various bourgeois classes, or, more correctly, were produced by the situation of various strata of the bourgeoisie within which the proletariat acted. It follows that Social-Democratic unity in Russia is not possible through the destruction of one of the two trends which took shape in the period of the most open, most extensive, mass, free and historically important actions of the working class during the revolution. But it follows also that the foundations for a real rapprochement between the two factions are not to be found in well-meaning phrases about unity, about the abolition of factions, etc. but only in the internal development of the factions. It is such a rapprochement that the party of the working class has been experiencing since we Bolsheviks in the spring of 1909 finally "buried" otzovism, while the pro-Party Mensheviks, headed by Plekhanov, began a no less determined struggle against liquidationism. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers of *both* factions side with the opponents of otzovism and liquidationism. Therefore, however harsh the inner-Party struggle on this basis, a struggle which is at times difficult and always unpleasant, we must not forget the *essence* of the phenomenon on account of its *form*. He who does not see underlying this struggle (which in the present state of the Party inevitably takes the form of a struggle of factions) the process of the *consolidation* of a basic Party core of class-conscious Social-Democratic workers is like one who fails to see the wood for the trees.

It is the aims of such a consolidation of a genuine Social-Democratic core

that will be served also by *Rabochaya Gazeta*, which we Bolsheviks are founding, having secured that the pro-Party Mensheviks (headed by Plekhanov) agree to support our publication. It necessarily makes its appearance as a factional publication, as a factional enterprise of the Bolsheviks. Here, too, perhaps, persons will be found who cannot see the wood for the trees and who will raise an outcry about going “back” to factionalism. By setting out in detail our view of the nature and significance of the Party unity that is really coming about and is really important and essential we have already exposed the value of such objections, which would *in fact* signify only *confusing* the problem of unity and *concealing* certain factional aims. We desire above all that *Rabochaya Gazeta* should help the workers to understand quite clearly from beginning to end the entire Party position and all the Party aims.

In embarking on the publication of *Rabochaya Gazeta* we are counting on the assistance both of the Central Committee of our Party and of the local organisations, as well as of individual groups of class-conscious workers at present cut off from the Party. We are counting on the assistance of the Central Committee, knowing that for a number of months past it has not succeeded in arranging its work *correctly* in Russia, its failure being due to the fact that, apart from the Bolsheviks and pro-Party Mensheviks, it has *not* found help *anywhere* and has frequently encountered the direct opposition of the other factions. This painful phase in the life of the Central Committee will pass, and in order that this should happen the sooner we must not simply “wait” until the Central Committee is re-established, until it has gathered strength, etc., but *immediately*, on the initiative of individual groups and local organisation, start—even if on the most modest scale at first—that work of strengthening the Party line and *real* Party unity on which the Central Committee too is primarily engaged. We count on the assistance of the local organisations and individual groups of workers, for it is only their active work on the newspaper, only their support, their reactions, their articles, materials, information and comments that can put *Rabochaya Gazeta* on a firm basis and ensure its continuance.

Written October 1910
First published May 5, 1937,
in the newspaper *Pravda* No. 122

Collected Works, Vol. 16, pp. 289—295

To Maxim Gorky

November 22, 1910

Dear A. M.,

I wrote you a few days ago when sending *Rabochaya Gazeta*, and asked what had come of the journal we talked about in the summer and about which you promised to write to me.

I see in *Rech* today a notice about *Sovremennik*, published "with the closest and exclusive [that is what is printed! illiterately, but so much the more pretentiously and significantly] participation of Amfiteatrov" and with you as a regular contributor.

What is this? How does it happen? A "large monthly" journal, with sections on "politics, science, history, social life"—why, this is something quite different from symposia aiming at a concentration of the best forces of *belles-lettres*. Such a journal should either have a perfectly definite, serious and consistent *trend*, or it will inevitably disgrace itself and those taking part in it. *Vestnik Yevropy* has a trend—a poor, watery, worthless trend—but one which serves a definite element, certain sections of the bourgeoisie, and which also unites definite circles of the professorate and officialdom, and the so-called intelligentsia from among the "respectable" (or rather, would-be respectable) liberals. *Russkaya Mysl* has a trend, an odious trend, but one which performs a very good service for the counter-revolutionary liberal bourgeoisie. *Russkoye Bogatstvo* has a trend—a Narodnik, Narodnik-Cadet trend—but one which has kept its line for scores of years, and which serves definite sections of the population. *Sovremennyy Mir* has a trend—often Menshevik-Cadet trend (at present with a leaning towards pro-Party Menshevism)—but a trend. A journal without a trend is an absurdity, a ridiculous, scandalous and harmful thing. And what sort of trend can there be with the "exclusive participation" of Amfiteatrov? One cannot expect G. Lopatin to provide a trend, and if the talk (said also to have got into the newspapers) is true about Kachorovsky's participation, then that is a "trend", but a trend of the blockheads, a S.R. trend.

During our talk in the summer when I told you that I had all but written you a disappointed letter about *Confessions* but did not send it because of the split with the Machists which had begun at that time, you replied: "*it's a pity you did not send it*". Then you went on to reproach me for not going to the Capri school, and you said that, if matters had taken a different course, the breakaway of the Machists and otzovists might have cost you less nervous strain, less waste of energy. Recalling these talks, I have now decided to write to you without putting it off and without waiting for any verification, while the impression the news has made is still fresh.

I think that a political and economic monthly with the exclusive participation of Amfiteatrov is something many times worse than a special Machist-otzovist faction. What was and still is bad about this faction is that the *ideological* trend deviated and still deviates from Marxism, from Social-Democracy, without, however, going so far as a break with Marxism, and only creating confusion.

Amfiteatrov's journal (his *Krasnoye Znamya* did well to die when it did!) is a political act, a political enterprise in which there is not even a realisation that a general "leftism" is not enough for a policy, that after 1905 to talk seriously about politics without making clear one's attitude towards Marxism and Social-Democracy is out of the question, impossible, inconceivable.

Things are turning out bad. It's saddening.

Yours,

Lenin

To M.F.—*salut et fraternité*.

Sent from Paris to the Isle of Capri (Italy) *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 434—435
First published in 1924

To the Editor of *Nevskaya Zvezda*

Dear Colleague,

I have received your long letter, and I see that you and I must most certainly have it out.

First of all, a detail. You won't find correspondents at two kopeks a line. So long as you have no money, you will have to make do with our articles about affairs abroad.

Now for the main thing. You complain of monotony. But this will always be the case if you don't print *polemics*—if, in particular, you cut down *Kamenev* (he writes in a *different* tone)—if you reduce everything to "positive liquidationism". And in addition you will lose all your contributors if you don't print them, and don't even reply and don't send back articles (for example, mine: the reply to Blank— *important!* "Unquenchable Hopes" and a *number of others!*!).

Just look at *Nevsky Golos*: it's more lively. It is not afraid of polemics. It attacks. It boldly makes its point to the bitter end.

By avoiding "painful questions", *Zvezda* and *Pravda* make themselves dry and monotonous, uninteresting, uncombative organs. A socialist paper *must* carry on polemics: our times are times of desperate confusion, and we can't do without polemics. The question is whether they are to be carried on

in a lively way, attacking, putting forward questions independently, or only on the defensive, in dry and boring fashion.

For example, the "Supporter of *Zvezda*" in No. 15 gave a good reply. Clearly he is a man of principle. But all the same he did not dissipate the terrible fears aroused *everywhere* (I have a series of letters) by No. 6 of *Nevsky Golos*. What did happen, after all? Was there a conference? Called by whom? What for? None of this is clear! And until this is cleared up *no one* wants to work. Everyone is saying: haven't I the right to know *who* I am working for, *whom* I am helping to get elected to the Duma? Maybe it's a liquidator? Maybe it's some muddled Trotskyist conciliator? Perhaps I am taking part (indirectly) in drawing up a "common platform"??

Such questions paralyse energy and introduce demoralisation.

Meanwhile *Nevsky Golos* is attacking briskly and takes a more challenging line. You can't hide differences from the workers (as *Pravda* is doing): it's harmful, fatal, ridiculous. You can't leave it to the *adversary*, to *Nevsky Golos*, to open up discussion of differences. *Pravda* will *perish* if it is *only* a "popular", "positive" organ, that is certain.

It would certainly be victorious if it were not afraid of polemics, talked straight about the liquidators, became lively through argument, by an article against Axelrod, etc. Such articles as Axelrod's attract: *all* the workers hear about the differences and are *attracted* to Axelrod's open explanations, because he *says* things *straight out* a hundred times more boldly than we do. *All* the workers hear the talk about a united platform, all the leading workers know Axelrod's article—and if you are silent, you have fallen behind! And the paper which falls behind is *lost*. A paper must be a step *ahead of everyone*, and that goes for both *Nevskaya Zvezda* and for *Pravda*. Side by side with the two "positive" little articles, *Pravda* must provide *polemics*—Kamenev's literary note—a feature article ridiculing the liquidators—and so forth. Monotony and lateness are incompatible with the newspaper business. And *Pravda* has in addition a special and exceptionally important duty: "whom is it going to *lead*"—this is what *everyone* is asking, what *everyone* is trying to read between the lines. It would be important to have a meeting (once in four years, before the elections)—you can't carry on the paper without even infrequent meetings with your constant contributors. *Think* over this well and quickly, for time won't bear delay.

Best wishes,

Ulyanov

Written on July 24, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1923 in the book *Iz epokhi*
"Zvezdy" i "Pravdy" (1911-14), Part III

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 42—44

The Significance of the St. Petersburg Elections

(Extract)

Only in St. Petersburg is there a tolerably well organised working-class press, one which, for all the fierce persecution it is subjected to, for all the fines and the arrests of its editors, for all the instability of its position, and for all that it is kept down by the censorship, is able to reflect, to some little degree, the views of worker democrats.

In the absence of a daily press, the elections remain an obscure matter, and their significance in terms of the political enlightenment of the masses is reduced by half, if not more.

Nevskaya Zvezda No. 15, July 1, 1912
Signed: F. F.

Collected Works, Vol. 18, p. 136

The Workers and *Pravda*

(Extract)

The chronicle of workers' life is only just *beginning* to develop into a permanent feature of *Pravda*. There can be no doubt that subsequently, in addition to letters about abuses in factories, about the awakening of a new section of the proletariat, about collections for one or another field of the workers' cause, the workers' newspaper will receive reports about the views and sentiments of the workers, election campaigns, the election of workers' delegates, what the workers read, the questions of particular interest to them, and so on.

The workers' newspaper is a workers' forum. Before the whole of Russia the workers should raise here, one after another, the various questions of workers' life in general and of working-class democracy in particular. The workers of St. Petersburg have made a beginning. It is to their energy that the proletariat of Russia owes the workers' first daily newspaper after the grim years of social stagnation. Let us, then, carry their cause forward, unitedly supporting and developing the workers' paper of the capital, the harbinger of the spring to come, when the whole of Russia will be covered by a network of workers' organisations with workers' newspapers.

We, the workers, *have yet* to build *this* Russia, and we *shall* build it.

Pravda No. 103, August 29, 1912
Signed: St.

Collected Works, Vol. 18, pp. 300—301

For the Attention of *Luch* and *Pravda* Readers

Both *Luch* and *Pravda* have on a number of occasions published letters from workers demanding that the editors of these newspapers give them a calm and clear exposition of the substance of their differences. This is a legitimate and natural demand, and it is worth while seeing how the two editorial boards have complied with it.

Under the heading "Controversial Issues" *Pravda* published the explanatory articles that had been asked for. What were they about? Those articles outlined and explained *Party decisions* on disputed questions. Through the author of those articles *Pravda* stated that to decide who is right in the dispute, where the truth lies, one must examine the facts and documents of Party history, try to put aside everything personal, everything extraneous and understand the social roots of the dispute. The dispute with the liquidators, said *Pravda*, "is not a matter of the evil will of certain individuals, but of the historical situation of the working-class movement". Those who seriously want to get at the bottom of the dispute must take the trouble to understand that historical situation.

"It is necessary to understand," says *Pravda*, "the *class* origin of the discord and disintegration, to understand what *class* interests emanating from a non-proletarian environment foster confusion among the friends of the proletariat."

This is a serious presentation of the question. It is a direct response to the workers' demand that they be helped to understand the serious dispute between *Pravda* and *Luch*. In this way the workers will get to know the *facts* of Party life and will learn to distinguish what in this dispute is true and a matter of principle, and what is shallow and fortuitous; they will seek the *class* roots of the discord.

It is possible that a worker, having learned the facts, having read through the documents, etc., will in the end not agree with *Pravda*—that is a matter of his own convictions and his experience. But in any case, if he follows *Pravda's* advice he will learn a lot and will realise what the whole dispute is about.

Such is *Pravda's* reply to the workers' demand to make them familiar with the existing differences. How did *Luch* act?

At the same time as *Pravda* published its articles on "controversial issues", *Luch* printed a lengthy article on the same subject. Not a single *fact* is cited in the article, the author does not attach any social significance at all to the dispute and does not call the reader's attention to a single document.

This enormous article, spread over two issues of the paper, is packed with gossip and allusions to personalities. The working-class reader is informed of the "touchiness" and "charming witticisms" of one Marxist, the "superman" pretensions of a second and the "cynicism" of a third. All disputes are attributed to "the settling of personal accounts", to "discontent over matters of seniority"

and to the "struggle for power" in the Party. And an underhand rumour, worthy of the official press, is slipped in to suggest that certain "master-hands at revolution" are to blame for it all because they are afraid of losing their influence if the broad masses of the workers enter into the dispute.

What the author and the newspaper that published his article are aiming at is to pack people's heads with gossip, squabbles and personalities, and thus avoid the necessity of explaining their point of view. It would not be half as bad if it were merely gossip. But this is the gossip of an embittered renegade, that is the trouble. Read what he writes at the beginning of the second part of his article about "provoked and provoking acts", about "the dictatorship in the Party of supermen with a cynical attitude to the masses"; read how he abuses the devoted people of 1905 by calling them "master-hands at revolution" who have behaved in a way that would be quite "impermissible in an environment with any degree of culture". All that, of course, is lifted straight from *Zyemshchina*, or from *Vekhi*!

This appeared not in *Novoye Vremya* but in a paper that calls itself a workers' newspaper, it is offered as a reply to working men's demands for a serious explanation of the paper's point of view! And even after that *Luch* dares protest against sharper forms of polemic and set itself up as a model of decorum that wants to put *Pravda* to shame.

We most insistently advise those workers who still believe that *Luch*, unlike *Pravda*, is a newspaper that stands for unification and the cessation of internal squabbles, to read the above-mentioned article and compare it with the way *Pravda* discusses the same questions.

Pravda No. 102, May 5, 1913
Signed: Reader of *Pravda* and *Luch*

Collected Works, Vol. 19, pp. 76—78

The National Programme of the R.S.D.L.P.

(Extract)

In the national question the old *Iskra* which in 1901-03 worked on and completed a programme for the R.S.D.L.P. as well as laying the first and fundamental basis of Marxism in the theory and practice of the Russian working-class movement, had to struggle, in the same way as on other questions, against petty-bourgeois opportunism. This opportunism was expressed, first and foremost, in the nationalist tendencies and waverings of the Bund. The old *Iskra* conducted a stubborn struggle against Bund nationalism, and to forget

this is tantamount to becoming a Forgetful John again, and cutting oneself off from the historical and ideological roots of the whole Social-Democratic workers' movement in Russia.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 32,
December 15 (28), 1913

Collected Works, Vol. 19, p. 540

To A. G. Shlyapnikov

(Extract)

October 17, 1914

Dear Friend,

In my view the most important thing now is a consistent and organised struggle against the chauvinism which has seized upon the whole bourgeoisie and the majority of the opportunist socialists (and those making their peace with opportunism—like Mr. Kautsky!). And to perform the tasks imposed by this struggle it is first of all necessary to combat the chauvinism of one's *own* country—specifically, in Russia the gentry *a la* Maslov and Smirnov (see *Russkiye Vedomosti* and *Russkoye Slovo*) whose “works” I have read, or Messrs. Sokolov, Meshkovsky, Nikitin and others whom you have seen or heard. Plekhanov, as I think you have already been told, has become a French chauvinist. Among the liquidators there is evidently confusion.* Alexinsky, *they say*, is a Francophil, Kosovsky (the Bundist, a Rightwinger, I heard his lecture) is a Germanophil.** It seems as though the middle course of the whole “Brussels bloc” of the liquidator gentry with Alexinsky and Plekhanov will be adapting themselves to Kautsky, who now is *more harmful than anyone else*. How dangerous and scoundrelly his sophistry is, covering up the dirty tricks of the opportunists with the most smooth and facile phrases (in *Neue Zeit*). The opportunists are an obvious evil. The German “Centre” headed by Kautsky is a concealed evil, diplomatically coloured over, contaminating the eyes, the mind and the conscience of the workers, and more dangerous than anything else. Our task now is the unconditional and open struggle against international opportunism and those who screen it (Kautsky). And this is what we shall do in the Central Organ, which we shall shortly issue (probably two little pages). We must with all our strength now support the legitimate hatred of the class-conscious workers

* Our intellectuals in Paris (outvoted in the section by the workers) have gone as volunteers (Nik. Vas., Antonov and others) and have issued a stupid non-Party appeal jointly with the S.R.s. It has been sent to you.

** Martov is behaving most decently of all in *Golos*. But will Martov hold out? I don't believe it.

for the rotten behaviour of the Germans, and draw from this hatred a political conclusion *against* opportunism and any concession to it. This is an international task. It devolves on us, there is no one else.

Sent from Berne to Stockholm
First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 161–162

Initial Variant of R.S.D.L.P. C.C. Proposals to the Second Socialist Conference

PROPOSALS BY THE C.C. OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE SECOND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE CALLED BY THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST COMMISSION (BERNE)

(Extract)

If there have been street demonstrations in Germany, if there have been many letters from the front calling on the people *not* to subscribe to the war loan in France, if there have been mass strikes in Britain, to say nothing of Russia, then in order to aid this struggle, to unify it on an international scale, it is unquestionably necessary to report *every* step along this road in a *free, i.e., illegal*, press, analysing the successes, assessing their conditions, and building up and developing the struggle. Without an illegal organisation and an illegal press the acceptance of “mass action” will remain an empty phrase (as is the case in Switzerland).

Written in late February and March 1916
First published in *Pravda* No. 255,
November 6–7, 1927

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 384

Speech Delivered at a Non-Party Conference of Workers and Red Army Men of Presnya District, Moscow

January 24, 1920

NEWSPAPER REPORT

(Extract)

The whiteguards keep saying in their sheets that the Bolsheviks are doing fine propaganda and are sparing no money for the purpose. But the people have heard all sorts of propaganda—they have heard the propaganda of the whiteguards and the propaganda of the Constituent Assembly supporters. It is absurd to think that they have followed the Bolsheviks because their propaganda was the more skilful. No, the point is that their propaganda was truthful.

We must concentrate the whole force of our Communist propaganda, with the help of which we defeated the foreign enemy, on the restoration of the railways.

Pravda No. 18,
January 28, 1920

Collected Works, Vol. 30, pp. 304—305

Section III

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

Party Organisation and Party Literature

The new conditions for Social-Democratic work in Russia which have arisen since the October revolution have brought the question of party literature to the fore. The distinction between the illegal and the legal press, that melancholy heritage of the epoch of feudal, autocratic Russia, is beginning to disappear. It is not yet dead, by a long way. The hypocritical government of our Prime Minister is still running amuck, so much so that *Izvestia Soveta Rabochikh Deputatov* is printed "illegally"; but apart from bringing disgrace on the government, apart from striking further moral blows at it, nothing comes of the stupid attempts to "prohibit" that which the government is powerless to thwart.

So long as there was a distinction between the illegal and the legal press, the question of the party and non-party press was decided extremely simply and in an extremely false and abnormal way. The entire illegal press was a party press, being published by organisations and run by groups which in one way or another were linked with groups of practical party workers. The entire legal press was non-party—since parties were banned—but it "gravitated" towards one party or another. Unnatural alliances, strange "bed-fellows" and false cover-devices were inevitable. The forced reserve of those who wished to express party views merged with the immature thinking or mental cowardice of those who had not risen to these views and who were not, in effect, party people.

An accursed period of Aesopian language, literary bondage, slavish speech, and ideological serfdom! The proletariat has put an end to this foul atmosphere which stifled everything living and fresh in Russia. But so far the proletariat has won only half freedom for Russia.

The revolution is not yet completed. While tsarism is *no longer* strong enough to defeat the revolution, the revolution is *not yet* strong enough to defeat tsarism. And we are living in times when everywhere and in everything there operates this unnatural combination of open, forthright, direct and consistent party spirit with an underground, covert, "diplomatic" and dodgy "legality". This unnatural combination makes itself felt even in our newspaper: for all Mr. Guchkov's witticisms about Social-Democratic tyranny forbidding the publication of moderate liberal-bourgeois newspapers, the fact remains that *Proletary*, the Central Organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, still remains outside the locked doors of *autocratic*, police-ridden Russia.

Be that as it may, the half-way revolution compels all of us to set to work at once organising the whole thing on new lines. Today literature, even that published "legally", can be nine-tenths party literature. It must become party literature. In contradistinction to bourgeois customs, to the profit-making, commercialised bourgeois press, to bourgeois literary careerism and individualism, "aristocratic anarchism" and drive for profit, the socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of *party literature*, must develop this principle and put it into practice as fully and completely as possible.

What is this principle of party literature? It is not simply that, for the socialist proletariat, literature cannot be a means of enriching individuals or groups: it cannot, in fact, be an individual undertaking, independent of the common cause of the proletariat. Down with non-partisan writers! Down with literary supermen! Literature must become *part* of the common cause of the proletariat, "a cog and a screw" of one single great Social-Democratic mechanism set in motion by the entire politically-conscious vanguard of the entire working class. Literature must become a component of organised, planned and integrated Social-Democratic Party work.

"All comparisons are lame," says a German proverb. So is my comparison of literature with a cog, of a living movement with a mechanism. And I daresay there will ever be hysterical intellectuals to raise a howl about such a comparison, which degrades, deadens, "bureaucratizes" the free battle of ideas, freedom of criticism, freedom of literary creation, etc., etc. Such outcries, in point of fact, would be nothing more than an expression of bourgeois-intellectual individualism. There is no question that literature is least of all subject to mechanical adjustment or levelling, to the rule of the majority over the minority. There is no question, either, that in this field greater scope must undoubtedly be allowed for personal initiative, individual inclination, thought and fantasy, form and content. All this is undeniable; but all this simply shows that the literary side of the proletarian party cause cannot be mechanically identified with its other sides. This, however, does not in the least refute the proposition, alien and strange to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois democracy, that literature must by all means and necessarily become an element of Social-Democratic Party work, inseparably bound up with the other elements. Newspapers must become the organs of the various party organisations, and their writers must by all means

become members of these organisations. Publishing and distributing centres, bookshops and reading-rooms, libraries and similar establishments—must all be under party control. The organised socialist proletariat must keep an eye on all this work, supervise it in its entirety, and, from beginning to end, without any exception, infuse into it the life-stream of the living proletarian cause, thereby cutting the ground from under the old, semi-Oblomov, semi-shopkeeper Russian principle: the writer does the writing, the reader does the reading.

We are not suggesting, of course, that this transformation of literary work, which has been defiled by the Asiatic censorship and the European bourgeoisie, can be accomplished all at once. Far be it from us to advocate any kind of standardised system, or a solution by means of a few decrees. Cut-and-dried schemes are least of all applicable here. What is needed is that the whole of our Party, and the entire politically-conscious Social-Democratic proletariat throughout Russia, should become aware of this new problem, specify it clearly and everywhere set about solving it. Emerging from the captivity of the feudal censorship, we have no desire to become, and shall not become, prisoners of bourgeois-shopkeeper literary relations. We want to establish, and we shall establish, a free press, free not simply from the police, but also from capital, from careerism, and what is more, free from bourgeois-anarchist individualism.

These last words may sound paradoxical, or an affront to the reader. What! some intellectual, an ardent champion of liberty, may shout. What, you want to impose collective control on such a delicate, individual matter as literary work! You want workmen to decide questions of science, philosophy, or aesthetics by a majority of votes! You deny the absolute freedom of absolutely individual ideological work!

Calm yourselves, gentlemen! First of all, we are discussing party literature and its subordination to party control. Everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes, without any restrictions. But every voluntary association (including the party) is also free to expel members who use the name of the party to advocate anti-party views. Freedom of speech and the press must be complete. But then freedom of association must be complete too. I am bound to accord you, in the name of free speech, the full right to shout, lie and write to your heart's content. But you are bound to grant me, in the name of freedom of association, the right to enter into, or withdraw from, association with people advocating this or that view. The party is a voluntary association, which would inevitably break up, first ideologically and then physically, if it did not cleanse itself of people advocating anti-party views. And to define the border-line between party and anti-party there is the party programme, the party's resolutions on tactics and its rules and, lastly, the entire experience of international Social-Democracy, the voluntary international associations of the proletariat, which has constantly brought into its parties individual elements and trends not fully consistent, not completely Marxist and not altogether correct and which, on the other hand, has constantly conducted periodical "cleansings" of its ranks.

So it will be with us too, supporters of bourgeois "freedom of criticism", *within* the Party. We are now becoming a mass party all at once, changing abruptly to an open organisation, and it is inevitable that we shall be joined by many who are inconsistent (from the Marxist standpoint), perhaps we shall be joined even by some Christian elements, and even by some mystics. We have sound stomachs and we are rock-like Marxists. We shall digest those inconsistent elements. Freedom of thought and freedom of criticism within the Party will never make us forget about the freedom of organising people into those voluntary associations known as parties.

Secondly, we must say to you bourgeois individualists that your talk about absolute freedom is sheer hypocrisy. There can be no real and effective "freedom" in a society based on the power of money, in a society in which the masses of working people live in poverty and the handful of rich live like parasites. Are you free in relation to your bourgeois publisher, Mr. Writer, in relation to your bourgeois public, which demands that you provide it with pornography in frames* and paintings, and prostitution as a "supplement" to "sacred" scenic art? This absolute freedom is a bourgeois or an anarchist phrase (since, as a world outlook, anarchism is bourgeois philosophy turned inside out). One cannot live in society and be free from society. The freedom of the bourgeois writer, artist or actress is simply masked (or hypocritically masked) dependence on the money-bag, on corruption, on prostitution.

And we socialists expose this hypocrisy and rip off the false labels, not in order to arrive at a non-class literature and art (that will be possible only in a socialist extraclass society), but to contrast this hypocritically free literature, which is in reality linked to the bourgeoisie, with a really free one that will be *openly* linked to the proletariat.

It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks. It will be a free literature, because it will serve, not some satiated heroine, not the bored "upper ten thousand" suffering from fatty degeneration, but the millions and tens of millions of working people—the flower of the country, its strength and its future. It will be a free literature, enriching the last word in the revolutionary thought of mankind with the experience and living work of the socialist proletariat, bringing about permanent interaction between the experience of the past (scientific socialism, the completion of the development of socialism from its primitive, utopian forms) and the experience of the present (the present struggle of the worker comrades).

To work, then, comrades! We are faced with a new and difficult task. But it is a noble and grateful one—to organise a broad, multiform and varied literature inseparably linked with the Social-Democratic working-class movement. All Social-Democratic literature must become Party literature. Every

*There must be a misprint in the source, which says *ramkakh* (frames), while the context suggests *romanakh* (novels).—Ed.

newspaper, journal, publishing house, etc., must immediately set about reorganising its work, leading up to a situation in which it will, in one form or another, be integrated into one Party organisation or another. Only then will "Social-Democratic" literature really become worthy of that name, only then will it be able to fulfil its duty and, even within the framework of bourgeois society, break out of bourgeois slavery and merge with the movement of the really advanced and thoroughly revolutionary class.

Novaya Zhizn, No. 12,
November 13, 1905
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 10, pp. 44—49

An Unissued Statement

The Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., meeting in Geneva on November 27, 1903, unanimously adopted the following decision.

Comrade Plekhanov's co-optation of the Martovites to the editorial board constitutes outright defection on his part to the side of the Party Congress minority, a minority that Plekhanov himself more than once publicly characterised as inclining towards opportunism and anarchism. From the minutes of the Party Congress and the Congress of the League this will be seen quite clearly. This defection is a direct violation of the will of the Party Congress under the influence of the League Abroad and in defiance of the emphatically stated decision of the majority of the Party committees in Russia. The Central Committee cannot allow such a violation of the will of the Congress, particularly since in taking advantage of Comrade Lenin's resignation to commit this act, Comrade Plekhanov was guilty of a direct breach of trust; for Comrade Lenin resigned on certain conditions, in the interests of peace and good will in the Party, whereas the Martovites, by turning down the Central Committee's ultimatum of November 25, rejected peace and thereby declared war.

The Central Committee therefore, by revolutionary action, takes the Party Central Organ into its own hands and declares that it will do everything in its power to secure that the will of the Party as a whole, not the will of the League Abroad or the treachery of an individual, shall determine the Party's future.

Central Committee

Written on November 14 (27), 1903
First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VII*

Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 114

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

(THE CRISIS IN OUR PARTY)

(Extracts)

G. The Party Rules. Comrade Martov's Draft

From the programme, the Congress passed to the Party Rules (we leave out the question of the Central Organ, already touched on above, and the delegates' reports, which the majority of the delegates were unfortunately unable to present in a satisfactory form). Needless to say, the question of the Rules was of tremendous importance to all of us. After all, *Iskra* had acted from the very outset not only as a press organ but also as an *organisational* nucleus. In an editorial in its fourth issue ("Where To Begin") *Iskra* had put forward a whole plan of organisation,* which it pursued systematically and steadily over a period of *three years*. When the Second Party Congress adopted *Iskra* as the Central Organ, two of the three points of the preamble of the resolution on the subject (p. 147) were devoted *precisely to this organisational plan and to "Iskra's" organisational ideas*: its role in directing the *practical* work of the Party and the leading part it had played in the work of attaining unity. It is quite natural, therefore, that the work of *Iskra* and the entire work of organising the Party, the entire work of *actually* restoring the Party, *could not* be regarded as finished until definite ideas of organisation had been adopted by the whole Party and formally enacted. This task was to be performed by the Party's Rules of Organisation.

The principal ideas which *Iskra* strove to make the basis of the Party's organisation amounted essentially to the following two: first, the idea of centralism, which defined in principle the method of deciding all particular and detail questions of organisation; second, the special function of an organ, a newspaper, for ideological leadership—an idea which took into account the temporary and special requirements of the Russian Social-Democratic working-class movement in the existing conditions of political slavery, with the *initial* base of operations for the revolutionary assault being set up abroad. The first idea, as the one matter of principle, had to pervade the entire Rules; the second,

* In his speech on the adoption of *Iskra* as the Central Organ, Comrade Popov said, *inter alia*: "I recall the article 'Where To Begin' in No. 3 or No. 4 of *Iskra*. Many of the comrades active in Russia found it a tactless article; others thought this plan was fantastic, and the majority [?—probably the majority around Comrade Popov] attributed it solely to ambition" (p. 140). As the reader sees, it is no new thing for me to hear my political views attributed to ambition—an explanation now being rehashed by Comrade Axelrod and Comrade Martov.

being a particular idea necessitated by temporary circumstances of place and mode of action, took the form of a *seeming* departure from centralism in the proposal to set up *two centres, a Central Organ and a Central Committee*. Both these principal *Iskra* ideas of Party organisation had been developed by me in the *Iskra* editorial (No. 4) "Where To Begin" and in *What Is To Be Done?* and, finally, had been explained in detail, in a form that was practically a finished set of Rules, in *A Letter to a Comrade*. Actually, all that remained was the work of formulating the paragraphs of the Rules, which were to embody just those ideas if the recognition of *Iskra* was not to be merely nominal, a mere conventional phrase. In the preface to the new edition of my *Letter to a Comrade* I have already pointed out that a simple comparison of the Party Rules with that pamphlet is enough to establish the complete identity of the ideas of organisation contained in the two.

By carefully studying the minutes, Comrade Martov would have found in the delegates' speeches a *whole series* of arguments against the board of six. Here is a selection from these speeches: firstly, that dissonances, in the sense of different shades of principle, were clearly apparent in the old six; secondly, that a technical simplification of the editorial work was desirable; thirdly, that the interests of the work came before philistine sentimentality, and only election could ensure that the persons chosen were suited for their posts; fourthly, that the right of the Congress to choose must not be restricted; fifthly, that the Party now needed something more than a literary group on the Central Organ, that the Central Organ needed not only writers, but administrators as well; sixthly, that the Central Organ must consist of quite definite persons, persons known to the Congress; seventhly, that a board of six was often ineffectual, and the board's work had been accomplished *not thanks to its abnormal constitution, but in spite of it*; eighthly, that the conduct of a newspaper was a party (not a circle) affair, etc. Let Comrade Martov, if he is so interested in the reasons for the non-election of these persons, *penetrate* into the meaning of each of these considerations and refute a *single one* of them.

The old *Iskra* taught the truths of revolutionary struggle. The new *Iskra* teaches the worldly wisdom of yielding and getting on with everyone. The old *Iskra* was the organ of militant orthodoxy. The new *Iskra* treats us to a recrudescence of opportunism—chiefly on questions of organisation. The old *Iskra* earned the honour of being detested by the opportunists, both Russian and West-European. The new *Iskra* has "grown wise" and will soon cease to be ashamed of the praises lavished on it by the extreme opportunists. The old *Iskra* marched unswervingly towards its goal, and there was no discrepancy between its word and its deed. The inherent falsity of the new *Iskra's* position inevitably leads—independently even of anyone's will or intention—to political hypocrisy. It inveighs against the circle spirit in order to conceal the victory of the circle spirit over the party spirit. It hypocritically condemns splits, as if one can imagine any way of avoiding splits in any at all organised party except by the subordination of the minority to the majority. It says that heed must be paid to revolutionary public opinion, yet, while concealing the praises of the

Akimovs, indulges in petty scandal-mongering about the committees of the revolutionary wing of the Party. How shameful! How they have disgraced our old *Iskra!*

Written in February-May 1904
Published in book form in Geneva,
May 1904

Collected Works, Vol. 7, pp. 241-242,
316, 413-414

Letter to Glebov (V. A. Noskov)

(Extract)

September 11, 1904

Dear Comrade,

You again repeat that the wish that I join the editorial board of the Central Organ was expressed "by the Central Committee". And I for my part must repeat that this is, to say the least, inaccurate. When you formally stated that the Central Committee's declaration had been adopted unanimously by a meeting of all its members but one, I replied immediately (August 18, 1904) that this was not true. The declaration was signed by three Central Committee members out of the recent total of nine; and these three quite unlawfully proclaimed Comrade Osipov no longer a member of the Central Committee, whereas he informed me in writing that he still considered himself a member. It was unlawful to declare that a comrade had resigned without having discussed the matter with him. Both the arguments with which you and your two colleagues tried to justify this unlawful act are patently unsound. You said that Comrade Osipov had formally announced his resignation at the preceding regular meeting of the Central Committee. That is not true, for at the end of May (that is, months after that meeting, which took place in February or March) the Central Committee still counted nine members, as is certified by the agreement of May 26, 1904, signed by three members of the Central Committee, and the letter appended to that agreement. You said that after that Central Committee meeting Comrade Osipov had joined one of the local committees, which a member of the Central Committee would have had no right to do. Comrade Osipov had already written to me on this point, stating that he had gone to take part in the local work in the district in question on the instructions of those very members of the Central Committee who now declare that he has resigned, and that he had not worked as a formal member of the committee. Besides, even if it were a fact that a member of the Central Committee had irregularly and in contravention of the Rules joined a local committee, it does not at all follow that to correct this irregularity he had necessarily to resign from the

Central Committee, and not from the local committee. Lastly, you yourself had to admit in your letter to me that the meeting of the three Central Committee members was informed that Comrade Osipov's resignation was a disputed matter. That this disputed matter should have been decided by three Central Committee members in the absence of Osipov, and without even hearing his opinion, was a patent and outrageous piece of lawlessness. Of course, the three Central Committee members could count on the support of the Party Council, which is controlled by the editors; of course, the three Central Committee members could rely on their formal or tacit compact with the minority adherents on the Council. But that does not make their action lawful; on the contrary, it aggravates its unlawfulness by elements of political bad faith. Similarly, it was unlawful for the three Central Committee members to accept the resignation of Comrade Travinsky, of which all members of the Central Committee had not been informed prior to the meeting. To this day you have not been able to tell me exactly when this resignation was tendered, and to whom. You disposed of the matter with a reply that sounded like a sneer: "Make inquiries of the collegium in Russia"—that is, the "collegium" (that very same collegium of three!) from which you had just come and with which I have no means of communicating except through you!!

Hence, I challenge the lawfulness of the composition of the Central Committee and of its last meeting (at which the "declaration" was adopted). I should therefore be fully entitled to leave unanswered your proposal that I join the editorial board of the Central Organ. But I regard this proposal as coming not from the Central Committee but from three members of the Party, and consider it my duty to give a reasoned reply, the more so since you say it is the wish of the editors of the Central Organ, stated to you in writing, to have me on the editorial board.

You suggest that my joining the editorial board of the Central Organ "would secure almost complete peace in the Party, which you are so anxious to have". This "almost" of yours is highly significant! Yes, I am anxious to have peace in the Party. I made an offer of peace in printed form in December 1903, in my "Letter to the Editors of *Iskra* (Why I Resigned from the Editorial Board)". I made another offer of peace, officially, in the Party Council in January 1904. Peace was not accepted on the terms I offered then on behalf of the majority. I may remark that, contrary to the present fashion of mouthing hypocritical phrases about "peace", when by peace is meant complete surrender to the minority, complete ignoring of the majority, and complete oblivion of the Congress, I said quite definitely in the Council what I understood by peace in the Party. With my then fellow delegate from the Central Committee on the Council, I plainly stated that by peace I meant purging the ideological struggle of all contention over post and place, of all squabbling and underhand methods of fighting. Let the minority have the Central Organ and the majority the Central Committee, I proposed then, let us call on everyone to stop all boycotts and all squabbling over posts and cooptation and argue out our dif-

ferences and the causes of our divergence at the Congress in a comradely manner, let us train the Party to discuss its internal disagreements in an honest and dignified way. My appeal was ridiculed by Plekhanov and Martov. I am not surprised that they took the disgraceful decision to withhold publication of the Council minutes (in spite of the insistence of the minority of the Council, namely, the two representatives of the Central Committee), or that the three Central Committee members have now (clandestinely) endorsed that decision. People who would arrange a hypocritical peace, taking advantage of the accidents unavoidable in the lives of Russian revolutionaries and ousting from the Central Committee those who think differently from themselves,* are bound to want to conceal from the Party membership a timely attempt to achieve an honest peace. Fortunately, I have reason to believe that this miserable trick to deceive the Party will not succeed and that the Council minutes will see the light after all.

When the editors who had usurped control of the Council scornfully rejected my offer of peace, I declared then and there that I considered a congress the only honest way out. The tactics of the minority (including Plekhanov)—to keep control of the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Council and claim to represent on these central bodies the interests of the Party as a whole while in fact trying to secure, without a congress, a remodelling of the Central Committee in the interests of the minority—such tactics I cannot regard as honest fighting. I have never entered, and do not deem it possible to enter, into any bargains with people who follow such tactics. Besides, since January the complexion of the new *Iskra* has become quite clear; it is a central organ of tittle-tattle and squabbling, of muddled thinking and of flirting with the opportunists, of settling personal scores and searching out points of difference. That the new *Iskra* is the organ of a circle, the organ of a new “trend”, is now clear to everyone, even to the editors themselves, who initially set themselves up as champions of “continuity” and now systematically drag the old *Iskra* through the mire. And so, in what sense can one now speak of peace? If by peace is meant purging the ideological struggle of squabbles over co-optation, I am still quite ready to agree to peace and to renew the proposal I made in the Council. But if by peace is meant cessation of the ideological struggle, conciliation with the line, or rather with the complexion of the new *Iskra*, for it has no such thing as a line, then such a “peace” can only be proposed by unprincipled or hypocritical people, or by people for whom the organs of the Party are so much newsprint (*Druckerschwärze*, printer’s ink, as one of the “conciliators” called the writings of the new *Iskra*). If the editors of the new *Iskra*, whose position of “principle” has amounted almost entirely to personal attacks on me, to a hue and cry against what they have dubbed “Le-

* This applies in the first place to Comrade Osipov, and secondly to me too, of course, for to propose that I join the editorial board of the Central Organ amounts to proposing that I resign from the Central Committee.

ninism", and to a searching out of differences with me, now express the wish to have me on the editorial board, they are only admitting thereby that they do not take their own writings seriously, that they invented the whole controversy just "for the sake of co-optation" and are prepared to throw all their new "principles" overboard once co-optation has been secured. As for me, I reject as unworthy the very suggestion that the majority could give up a Party struggle for its position, for the consistent line, against the circle spirit. In common with all principled supporters of the majority, whose numbers in Russia are growing, I consider it my inalienable right and duty to carry on this struggle. And it should, in my view, be carried on openly, for nine-tenths of the history of the conflict is already public knowledge and any further attempts to conceal it from the eyes of the world would only be a petty and senseless prolonging of the crisis.

You write that "numerous committees, too, undoubtedly wish" to see me join the present *Iskra* editorial board. I note with regret that here too you are uttering a deliberate untruth. In the present circumstances of the struggle, not one committee has up to now expressed any such wish. It has only been expressed by the editorial circle of the Central Organ and by three members of the Central Committee, who consider it the acme of political wisdom to join the minority in abusing the majority and the majority in abusing the minority. I make bold to believe that my duty is to heed, not the will of any group of politicians, but the will of the entire Party, which has also laid down the method of giving formal expression to that will viz., the congress. I make bold to believe that a leader who adopts a certain line at the congress and leads a section of the Party along that line forfeits every claim to respect or even to having his words taken seriously if he then deserts to the side of his opponents.

Your reference to "numerous committees" is very instructive and significant, in spite of its... divergence from the truth. It points to a shred of Party conscience, to some little recognition of the fact that official institutions appointed by the Party must take cognisance of the Party's will when they undertake to revise the composition and line of the central bodies. If this recognition were not obscured in you by the confused position you have adopted, you would have no difficulty in seeing that there is no other way of really ascertaining the real wishes of really numerous committees than by convening a congress. But while your reference to "numerous committees" betrays a shred of Party conscience, it also points very clearly to an uneasy conscience. You fear a congress like the plague because you realise that your policy of adventures glaringly conflicts with the will of the Party.

My general views as to the hypocrisy of your peace-making are fully borne out by a number of additional facts. The three Central Committee members now admire the "high standard" of the Central Organ, while in March *these very same* three members of the Central Committee drew up a statement expressing regret that certain Party writers (the majority of the present editorial board of the Central Organ) should have lapsed into opportunism. While

talking about "peace", these three Central Committee members dissolve the Southern Bureau (an agent body of the Central Committee) because majority adherents have been working on it and have had the audacity to agitate for a congress. While talking about reconciling the two contending sides, the three Central Committee members arrange a conference with representatives of one side, ignoring the other. What demoralisation is brought into the Party by these private, hole-and-corner transactions, which affect the whole Party's vital interests and which are so carefully kept from its knowledge, when there is absolutely no necessity for secrecy precautions! How much mutual distrust and suspicion is brought into the Party's whole life by these tricks behind the back of the Party! Only today I received a letter from a comrade in Russia describing the rumours that are circulating in connection with these transactions: it is said in Party circles that three sections have developed among the minority; one insists on the co-optation of Dan and Trotsky to the Central Committee, and will not hear of anything else; the second agrees to a conference; the third contents itself with the Central Committee's declaration, and this section includes the *Yuzhny Rabochy*-ists (who quite rightly interpret the starting of a popular organ as nothing but a masked reestablishment of *Yuzhny Rabochy*, which the Congress closed down). I do not know what truth there is in this Party gossip. But that the minority consists of heterogeneous groups, that Comrade Brouckère, for example, probably takes no part at all in the minority's "ultimatums" or the co-optation squabble generally, and that the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group represents quite a distinct shade—these are all generally known facts, with which everyone who has studied our Party Congress is familiar. Can you really not see how degrading is all this huckstering of various groups behind the back of the Party! Is it surprising that the hypocrisy of the three Central Committee members is earning them the utter distrust of the majority, which stands aloof from all his trickery? Is it surprising that a "peace" inaugurated by dismissing people who agitate for a congress should be regarded as a prelude to the systematic faking of Party opinion? Is it surprising that the majority should suspect a deal between the Central Committee and the Central Organ (and, consequently, the Council) to force minority adherents upon the committees, to withhold publication of majority resolutions (the St. Petersburg and Ekaterinoslav resolutions have been withheld *for months already*), etc., etc.?

I hope you will now understand why, with the present situation in the Party, there can be no thought of my joining the editorial board of the Central Organ.

Published in slightly abridged form in the pamphlet *The Fight for a Congress*, by N. Shakhov, Geneva, 1904

Collected Works, Vol. 7, pp. 466—472

Letter to A Group of Comrades

WITH REFERENCE TO THE FORTHCOMING PUBLICATION OF THE ORGAN OF THE PARTY MAJORITY

Dear Comrades,

Today, at a meeting of a close circle of Bolsheviks abroad, a final decision was taken on a question that in principle has long been decided: the publication of a Party periodical that will uphold and develop the principles of the majority against the organisational and tactical discord brought into the Party by the minority, and will serve the needs of the positive work of the organisations in Russia, against whom such a bitter fight is now being carried on by minority agents practically all over the country—a fight that terribly disorganises the Party at this vital historical juncture, and one that is carried on throughout by the most shameless splitting methods and tactics, amid hypocritical deploring of the split by the so-called Central Organ of the Party. We have done everything in our power to steer the struggle into a Party channel; ever since January we have been fighting for a congress, as the only worthy Party way to end this impossible situation. By now it is perfectly clear that the activities of the Central Committee following its desertion to the minority consist almost entirely in desperately resisting a congress, and that the Council is resorting to the most outrageous and unpardonable tricks to put off convening it. The Council is directly sabotaging a congress; whoever has still to be convinced of that after its latest decisions, printed in the supplement to Nos. 73-74 of *Iskra*, will see it from Orlovsky's pamphlet *The Council Against the Party*, which we published the other day. It is perfectly clear now that unless they unite and resist our so-called central institutions, the majority will not be able to uphold their position, to uphold the party spirit in its struggle against the circle spirit. Union of the Bolsheviks in Russia has long been put forward by them as an urgent need. Recall the tremendous sympathetic response to the programmatic resolution of the twenty-two (programmatic for our struggle within the Party); recall the proclamation of the nineteen, issued in printed form by the Moscow Committee (October 1904); lastly, nearly all Party committees are aware that a number of private conferences of majority committees have lately been held, and in part are still being held, and that the most vigorous and definite efforts are being made to solidly unite the majority committees for resistance to the overweening Bonapartists on the Council, Central Organ, and Central Committee.

We hope that these efforts (or rather steps) will be made generally known

in the very near future, when the results will allow of a definite statement of what has already been achieved. It need hardly be said that the majority would have been quite unable to conduct their self-defence without a publishing house of their own. As you may already know from our Party literature, the new Central Committee simply ejected our pamphlets (and even the covers of pamphlets already set up) from the Party printing office, thus turning the latter into the printing office of a circle, and refused the direct request of the majority members abroad and of committees in Russia—the Riga Committee, for instance—to have majority literature delivered to Russia. It became quite evident that falsification of Party opinion was a systematic tactic of the new Central Committee. We found ourselves faced unavoidably with the necessity of expanding our publishing activities and setting up our own transport arrangements. The committees that had broken off comradesly relations with the editorial board of the Central Organ (see Dan's admission in his account of the Geneva meeting of September 2, 1904—an interesting pamphlet) could not and cannot do without a periodical organ. A party without an organ, an organ without a party! This tragic formulation put forward by the majority as far back as August inexorably decreed the one solution—the starting of our own organ. The young literary forces that have been coming abroad to uphold the vital cause of the majority of the comrades in Russia need a field for their energies. A number of Party writers in Russia likewise call insistently for an organ. In starting this organ, which will probably be called *Vperyod*, we are acting in full agreement with the mass of the Bolsheviks in Russia, and in full harmony with our conduct in the Party struggle. We are resorting to this weapon after a whole year spent in trying every, absolutely every way that is simpler, more economical for the Party, more perfectly in accordance with the interests of the working-class movement. We are by no means abandoning the struggle for a congress; on the contrary, we want to extend, co-ordinate and support this struggle, want to help the committees to decide the new question now facing them—that of arranging a congress without the Council and Central Committee, and against the wishes of the Council and Central Committee—a question that requires the fullest and most serious discussion. We openly champion views and aims that have long since been stated, in a number of pamphlets, before the whole Party. We are fighting and will continue to fight for the consistent revolutionary line, against discord and wabbling in matters of both organisation and tactics (see the monstrously muddled letter of the new *Iskra* to the Party organisations, printed for Party members only and concealed from the eyes of the world). The announcement about the new organ will probably appear in a week or so, and the first issue somewhere between January 1 and 10, New Style. The editorial board will include all the majority writers that have so far come to the fore (Ryadovoy, Galyorka, Lenin, Orlovsky, who contributed regularly to *Iskra* from its 46th to 51st issue, when it was conducted by Lenin and Plekhanov, and also very valuable younger forces). The body practically directing and organising the

complex business of distribution, agencies, etc., etc., will be formed (has already been formed in part) through direct assignment of definite functions to definite comrades by a number of Russian committees (the Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, and Nikolayev committees, the four Caucasian committees, and several northern ones, more particulars of which you will receive shortly). We now appeal to all comrades to give us all the support they can. We shall conduct the organ on the understanding that it is the organ of the movement in Russia, not of any émigré circle. This requires, first and foremost, the most vigorous "literary" support, or rather literary participation, from Russia. I have put the word "literary" in italics and inverted commas in order to draw attention from the first to its special sense and caution against a misconception that is very common and highly detrimental to the work. It is a misconception that writers and only writers (in the professional sense of the term) can successfully contribute to a publication; on the contrary, it will be vital and alive only if for five leading and regularly contributing writers there are five hundred or five thousand contributors who are not writers. One of the shortcomings of the old *Iskra*, one which I always tried to rid it of (and which has grown to monstrous proportions in the new *Iskra*) was that too little was done for it from Russia. We always used to print everything, practically without exception, that we received from Russia. A really live organ should print only a tenth of what it receives, using the rest as material for the information and guidance of the journalists. We must have as many Party workers as possible correspond with us, correspond in the ordinary, not the journalistic sense of the term.

Isolation from Russia, the engulfing atmosphere of the accursed émigré slough, weighs so heavily on one here that living contact with Russia is our only salvation. Let all remember that we want in fact, and not just in word, to consider (and to *make*) our organ the organ of the entire "majority", the organ of the mass of Russian comrades. Let everyone who regards this organ as his own and who is conscious of the duties of a Social-Democratic Party member abandon once and for all the bourgeois habit of thinking and acting as is customary towards legally published papers—the habit of feeling: it is *their* business to write and ours to read. All Social-Democrats must work for the Social-Democratic paper. We ask everyone to contribute, and especially the workers. Give the workers the widest opportunity to write for our paper, to write about positively everything, to write as much as they possibly can about their daily lives, interests, and work—without such material a Social-Democratic organ will not be worth a brass farthing and will not deserve the name. In addition, please send us *private letters*, not intended as contributions to the paper, i.e., not for publication, but by way of comradely intercourse with the editors and to keep them informed, and not only about facts and incidents, but about the prevailing sentiment and the everyday, "uninteresting", humdrum, routine side of the movement. People who have not lived abroad cannot imagine how much we need such letters (there is absolutely nothing secret about them either, and to write such an uncoded

letter once or twice a week is really something the busiest person can do). So write to us about the discussions at the workers' study circles, the nature of these discussions, the subjects of study, and the things the workers ask about; about the state of propaganda and agitational work, and about contacts among the general public, in the army, and among the youth; above all write about any dissatisfaction the workers feel with us Social-Democrats, about the things that trouble them, about their suggestions, criticisms, etc. Matters relating to the practical organisation of the work are particularly interesting now, and there is no way of acquainting the editors with them except by a lively correspondence not of a journalistic nature, but simply of a comradely kind. Of course, not everyone has the ability or inclination to write, but . . . don't say "I can't", say "I don't want to"; given the desire, one or two comrades who could write can be found in any circle, any group, even the smallest, even the most minor (the minor groups are often especially interesting, for they sometimes do the most important, though inconspicuous, part of the work). We here have from the start placed the secretarial work on a broad footing, drawing on the experience of the old *Iskra*; and you for your part should know that *anybody*, absolutely anybody who sets about it with patience and determination can without much difficulty make sure that all his letters, or nine-tenths of them, reach their destination. I say this on the basis of the three years' experience of the old *Iskra*, which had many such an informal correspondent (often unacquainted with any of the editors) who wrote with the utmost regularity. The police have long been quite unequal to the task of intercepting all foreign correspondence (they only seize a letter occasionally, if the writer has been unusually careless); and the great bulk of the old *Iskra*'s material always used to arrive in the most usual way, in ordinary letters sent to our addresses. A special word of warning against the practice of concentrating correspondence only in the hands of the committee and the secretaries. Nothing could be more harmful than such a monopoly. Essential as unity is in actions and decisions, in the matter of general information, of correspondence, it is quite wrong. It very often happens that the most interesting letters are from comparative "outsiders" (people more remote from the committees), who perceive more *freshly* much that old experienced workers overlook because they are too used to it. Give every opportunity to the younger people to write to us—to the youth, to Party workers, to "centralists", to organisers, and to ordinary rank-and-filers at impromptu meetings and mass rallies.

Only given such a wide correspondence can we, by our joint efforts, make our paper a real organ of the *working-class movement in Russia*. We earnestly request, to have this letter read to every kind of meeting, study circle, subgroup, etc., etc.—as widely as possible—and to be informed how the workers receive this appeal. As to the idea of publishing a separate workers' ("popular") organ and a general—guiding—intellectual organ, we are very sceptical about it; we should like to see the Social-Democratic newspaper the organ of the whole movement, to see the workers' paper and the Social-Democratic

tic paper fused in one. This can be achieved only if we have the most active support of the working class.

With comradely greetings, *N. Lenin*

Written on November 29
(December 12), 1904

Collected Works, Vol. 7, pp. 523—528

Published in leaflet form in December 1904

A Third Step Back

(Extract)

Finally, the most astonishing thing about the “Rules” of the Minority is the omission of all reference to Party organs and to Party literature in general. Organs there are (*Iskra*, *Sotsial-Demokrat*) and will be, but the “Rules” adopted by the Conference establish *no* connection between them and the Party. This is incredible, but it is a fact. The publicists are outside the Party, above the Party. No control, no reports, no material dependence. Something reminiscent of the worst days of opportunism among the French socialists: the Party unto itself, and the publicists unto themselves. From this point of view the following decision of the Conference, viz., the resolution on *Party (?)* literature, should perhaps not seem accidental: “The Conference deems it necessary: (1) that the Organisation Committee take measures to furnish the Party publicists greater possibilities to wage a struggle in the legal press for the theoretical principles of the Party”. A kind of prototype of Menshevik organisation: a group of “Party publicists”, non-responsible and “independent”, indispensable and irreplaceable. And attached to them—a committee to have charge of the work of . . . legal publication!

It is difficult to discuss this type of organisation with the necessary seriousness. The nearer the revolution and the nearer the opportunity for Social-Democrats to write openly in the “legal” press, the more strictly should the party of the proletariat adhere to the principle of the unconditional responsibility of “Party publicists” to the Party, of their dependence on the Party.

Proletary, No. 6, July 3 (June 20), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 8, p. 548

Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

A LETTER TO THE ST. PETERSBURG WORKERS

(Extract)

The second point on which there was disagreement was the relation between the Central Committee and the Central Organ. The Mensheviks carried the point that the editorial board of the Central Organ is to be elected by the Congress and that the members of the editorial board are to act as members of the Central Committee when questions of policy are discussed (a vague point which will probably give rise to misunderstanding). The Bolsheviks, referring to the melancholy conflicts between writers in the Russian and German* party press, advocated the appointment of the editorial board of the Central Organ by the Central Committee, the latter to have the right to dismiss the editors. In my opinion, the decision of the Mensheviks undoubtedly shows that there is something abnormal in the relations between the writers and the practical-political leaders in the Right wing of our Party.

Written early in May 1906
Published in pamphlet form in June 1906
by Vperyod Publishers, Moscow

Collected Works, Vol. 10, p. 373

Martov's and Cherevanin's Pronouncements in the Bourgeois Press

Telling how Certain Social-Democrats Resort to Bourgeois, Cadet Newspapers, like *Tovarishch*, and, Through *Tovarishch*, to the *Novy Put*, in Order to Spread False Reports About Revolutionary Social-Democracy. Refutation. Estimation. Conclusions.

(Extract)

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND BOURGEOIS NEWSPAPERS

Is it permissible for a Social-Democrat to contribute to bourgeois newspapers?

Certainly not. Theoretical considerations, political etiquette and the practice of the European Social-Democrats are all against it. As is well known, this

* The recent "affair" of the six editors of *Vorwärts* who made quite a fuss because they had been dismissed by the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party.

question came up for discussion at a recent congress of the German Social-Democrats. We know that our German comrades *severely condemn* the idea of Social-Democrats contributing to the bourgeois press and resolutely fight for the principle that the party of the revolutionary proletariat shall tolerate no blocs or agreements in this field either, but maintain its independence; that journalist members of the workers' party should be organised and controlled, not only in name but *in deed*; in other words, should be party men in the strict sense of the term.

Have we any right to depart from these rules here in Russia?

Some might retort: there is an exception to every rule. That is quite true. It would be wrong to condemn a person in banishment for writing to any newspaper. It is *sometimes* hard to condemn a Social-Democrat who is working in a minor department of a bourgeois newspaper to earn a living. One can justify the publication of an urgent and business-like refutation, etc., etc.

But see what will happen here. Under the pretext of refuting "misunderstandings" caused by the *Social-Democratic "Nashe Dyelo"*, L. Martov writes almost two columns in a Cadet newspaper, calmly expounding the views of some Social-Democrats, arguing against other Social-Democrats and misrepresenting the views of Social-Democrats he disagrees with, without caring in the least what pleasure his literary "bloc" with the Cadets gives to all the enemies of the proletariat. The Cadet newspapers seize on L. Martov's article in the Cadet press, give it wide publicity, add a thing or two of their own to the lie which he has put into circulation about the revolutionary Social-Democrats, pat him on the back (see *Rech*), and so on and so forth. Cherevanin is tempted. If Martov could write to *Tovarishch* to refute Cherevanin's "misunderstandings" and bring in thousands of other things at the same time, why should not Cherevanin also write to *Tovarishch* to refute L. Martov's "misunderstandings"? And, while he is about it, why not take advantage of the opportunity to start in the Cadet press (after all, it would be improper to do so in the Social-Democratic press!) a discussion on the question whether socialists should vote for bourgeois candidates even without an agreement?*

And so a special feature has been inaugurated in Cadet newspapers: a family-literary correspondence between Social-Democratic opportunists. Since its subject is the permissibility of blocs with the Cadets, and even of voting for the Cadets, the Cadets readily give shelter to the homeless "progressive" Social-Democrats who are departing from the "conservative" rules of revolutionary Social-Democracy.

The Menshevik literary bigwigs dwell in two abodes. In the respectable quarter they talk to fine gentlemen about blocs with the Cadets and incidentally retail anecdotes about the revolutionary Social-Democrats. In the grimy quarter, in some workers' newspaper or Social-Democratic periodical, or a

* F. Dan has migrated to *Tovarishch* even without the object of refuting "misunderstandings", but merely for company's sake.

leaflet, they offer the workers a "non-party labour congress" and enlighten them on the absurdity and folly of fighting for a constituent assembly. Let the workers be patient and wait a little: when the Social-Democratic discussion in the Cadet *Tovarishch* on blocs between socialists and the bourgeoisie comes to an end, the workers, too, will learn something And so, following the homely rule of one of Turgenev's characters, our advocates of a labour congress write letter after letter to *Tovarishch*, murmuring the while: our Party is a party of the intelligentsia

Will not the Social-Democratic workers intervene to put a stop to this outrage? Is it a matter of indifference to the members of our Party?

Written October 1906

Collected Works, Vol. 11, pp. 262—263

Published in pamphlet form in October 1906

by *Proletarskoye Dyelo* Publishers

Blocs with the Cadets

(Extract)

And the Cadet press has perfectly understood the *political* significance of Menshevik-Cadet blocs. We said above: either in the rear of the liberals or in front of the revolutionaries. In support of this we shall cite our political press.

Can you find any serious or mass confirmation of the assertion that the Bolsheviks are following in the wake of the bourgeois revolutionaries and are dependent on them? It is ridiculous even to speak of such a thing. The whole Russian press clearly shows, and all the enemies of the revolutionaries admit, that it is the Bolsheviks who are pursuing an independent political line, and are winning over various groups and the best elements of the bourgeois revolutionaries.

But what about the bourgeois opportunists? They own a press the times larger than that of the Social-Democrats and the Socialist-Revolutionaries put together. And they are pursuing an independent political line, converting the Mensheviks and Popular Socialists into mere yes-men.

The *whole* Cadet press quotes *only* those parts of the Menshevik resolutions which refer to blocs; it *omits* "the impotence of the Duma", "the organisation of the forces of the revolution in the Duma", and other things. The Cadets not only omit these things, they *openly rail against* them, now talking about the "phrase-mongering" or the "inconsistency" of the Mensheviks, now about the "inconsistency of the Menshevik slogans", and at another time about "the baneful influence of the Bolsheviks over the Mensheviks".

What does this mean? It means that, whether we like it or not, and in spite of the wishes of the better sort of Mensheviks, political life absorbs their *Cadet deeds* and rejects their *revolutionary phrases*.

The Cadet coolly accepts the help of the Mensheviks, slaps Plekhanov on the back for his advocacy of blocs, and at the same time shouts contemptuously and rudely, like a merchant who has grown fat on ill-gotten gains: Not enough, Menshevik gentlemen! There must also be an ideological understanding! (See the article in *Tovarishch* on Plekhanov's letter.) Not enough, Menshevik gentlemen, you must also stop your polemic, or at any rate change its tone! (See the leading article in the *Left-Cadet Vek* on the resolutions of our Conference.) Not to mention *Rech*, which simply snubbed the Mensheviks who are yearning for the Cadets by bluntly declaring: "We shall go into the Duma to *legislate*", not to make a revolution!

Poor Mensheviks, poor Plekhanov! Their love letters to the Cadets were read with pleasure, but so far they are not being admitted further than the antechamber.

Read Plekhanov's letter in the bourgeois-Cadet newspaper *Tovarishch*. How joyfully he was greeted by Mr. Prokopovich and Madame Kuskova, the very people whom Plekhanov, in 1900, drove out of the Social-Democratic Party for attempting its bourgeois corruption. Now Plekhanov has accepted the tactics of the famous *Credo* of Prokopovich and Kuskova; and these followers of Bernstein are impudently blowing kisses to him and shouting: *We bourgeois democrats* have always said this!

And in order to be admitted to the antechamber of the Cadets, Plekhanov had publicly to *withdraw the statements he made but yesterday*.

Here are the facts.

In *Dnevnik*, No. 6, of July 1906, after the dissolution of the Duma, Plekhanov wrote that the parties that are *participating* in the movement must come to an understanding. To be able to strike together, they must *first come to an agreement*. "The *parties* hostile to our old regime must . . . come to an agreement about what is to be the main idea in this propaganda. After the dissolution of the Duma the only idea that can serve this purpose is the idea of a constituent assembly . . ."

... "Only" the idea of a constituent assembly. Such was Plekhanov's plan for a political bloc and for a fighting agreement in July 1906.

Five months later, in November 1906, Plekhanov changes his policy on agreements. Why? Has there been any change since then in the relations between the parties which demand a constituent assembly and those which do not?

It is generally admitted that since then the Cadets have shifted still further to the right. And Plekhanov *goes* to the Cadet press but says *nothing* about the constituent assembly; for it is forbidden to speak about this in liberal antechambers.

Is it not clear that this Social-Democrat has slipped?

But this is not all. In the same No. 6 of *Dnevnik*, Plekhanov referred *directly* to the Cadets. *At that time* (that was such a long time ago!) Plekhanov explained the selfish class character of the Cadets' distrust towards the idea of a constituent assembly. Plekhanov at that time wrote about the Cadets literally as follows:

"Whoever renounces the propaganda of this idea [a constituent assembly] on whatever pretext will clearly indicate that he is not really seeking a worthy answer to the actions of Stolypin & Co., that he, though reluctantly, *is becoming reconciled to these actions*, that he is rebelling against them *only in words, only for the sake of appearances*" (italics ours).

Having now gone over to a Cadet newspaper, Plekhanov began his advocacy of an election bloc by establishing an ideological bloc. In the Cadet newspaper Plekhanov did not want to tell the people that the Cadets are *becoming reconciled* to the Stolypin gang, that they are rebelling *only for the sake of appearances*.

Why did Plekhanov not want to repeat in November 1906 what he said in July 1906?

This, then, is what "technical" blocs with the Cadets mean, and that is why we are waging a relentless struggle against Social-Democrats who sanction such blocs.

Is not your joy premature, gentlemen of the Cadet Party? Social-Democrats will vote in the elections without blocs in the Caucasus, in the Urals, in Poland, in the Lettish Territory, in the Moscow Central Region, and probably in St. Petersburg.

No blocs with the Cadets! No conciliation with those who are becoming reconciled to the Stolypin gang!

Proletary, No. 8,
November 23, 1906

Collected Works, Vol. 11, pp. 316—319

Conference of the St. Petersburg Organisation of the R.S.D.L.P.

(Extract)

3. REPORT ON THE PARTICIPATION OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS IN THE BOURGEOIS PRESS

Comrade Lenin's second report concerned the question of Social-Democratic participation in the bourgeois press. The speaker set forth the point of view of the two wings of international Social-Democracy on this score and particularly the views of the orthodox members and of the revisionists in the German

Social-Democratic Party. The orthodoxes at the Dresden Parteitag agreed to the formula that it was permissible to participate in the press that was not hostile to Social-Democracy, on the grounds that in practice this was tantamount to a complete ban, since in present-day developed capitalist society there were no bourgeois newspapers that were not hostile to Social-Democracy.

The speaker took the stand that *political* participation in the bourgeois press, especially the supposedly non-party press, is absolutely inadmissible. Such newspapers as *Tovarishch*, by their hypocritically disguised fight against Social-Democracy, cause it much greater harm than the bourgeois party newspapers which are frankly hostile to Social-Democracy. This is best illustrated by the contributions to *Tovarishch* made by Plekhanov, Martov, Gorn, Kogan, etc. All their utterances are directed against the Party, and in actual fact it was not the Social-Democratic comrades who made use of the bourgeois newspaper *Tovarishch*, but this newspaper that made use of these comrades against the hateful R.S.D.L.P. Not a single article by a Social-Democrat has so far appeared which the editors of *Tovarishch* would not have approved of.

Proletary, No. 20,
November 19, 1907

Collected Works, Vol. 13, p. 140

To P. Yushkevich

Sir,

I do not agree to diluting Marxism nor to a free tribune in publications
I know nothing of.

N. Lenin

Written November 10, 1908
Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg
First published in 1933

Collected Works, Vol. 34, p. 396

The Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.

January 5-17 (18-30), 1912

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

(Extracts)

Elections to the Fourth Duma

(2) To pay the necessary attention to the strengthening and broadening of the legally existing workers' press;

The Central Organ

Having heard and discussed the report of the representative of the Central Organ, the Conference approves of the Central Organ's line in principle and expresses the wish that more space be devoted to articles of a propagandist nature, and that the articles be written in a more popular style, so as to make them more intelligible to the workers.

Rabochaya Gazeta

Whereas:

Rabochaya Gazeta has resolutely and consistently championed the Party and its principles, and enjoys the full sympathy of Party functionaries in local Party branches, irrespective of factional affiliation,

The Conference:

(1) calls upon all comrades in the localities to support *Rabochaya Gazeta* in every way;

(2) recognises *Rabochaya Gazeta* as an official organ of the Central Committee of the Party.

Newspaper Pravda

The Conference annuls the agreement with the editors of *Pravda* concluded by the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in January 1910.

Written in January 1912
Published in February 1912 in a pamphlet
All-Russian Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.
Central Committee Publishing House,
Paris

Collected Works, Vol. 17, pp. 470, 482

Resolutions of the Summer, 1913, Joint Conference of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and Party Officials

(Extract)

THE PARTY PRESS

1. This Conference points to the vast importance of the legal press for Social-Democratic agitation and organisation, and therefore calls upon Party bodies and upon all class-conscious workers to increase their assistance to the legal press by securing for it the widest possible circulation, and by organising mass collective subscriptions and regular collections of contributions. The Conference reaffirms that such contributions are counted as Party membership dues.

2. Special efforts must be made to consolidate the legal workers' newspaper in Moscow and to issue a workers' newspaper in the South at the earliest possible date.

3. This Conference expresses the desire that the closest possible contact be established between the existing legal working-class periodicals by means of an exchange of information, arrangement of conferences, etc.

4. Recognising the importance of a theoretical organ of Marxism and the need for one, this Conference expresses the desire that all the organs of the Party and trade union press should make the workers familiar with the magazine *Prosveshcheniye*, and urge them to subscribe to it regularly and to render it their systematic support.

5. This Conference draws the attention of Party publishing houses to the great need to publish an extensive series of popular, Social-Democratic agitation and propaganda pamphlets.

6. In view of the recent intensification of the revolutionary mass struggle, and of the need to report on it in the fullest detail (which the legal press cannot do), this Conference calls special attention to the need to stimulate in every way the development of underground Party publishing activities; in addition to publishing illegal leaflets, pamphlets, etc., it is absolutely essential to secure the more frequent and regular issue of the illegal Party organ (the Central Organ).

Written September 1913

Published in 1913 in the pamphlet *Notification and Resolutions of the Summer, 1913, Joint Conference of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and Party Officials*.
Issued by the Central Committee

Collected Works, Vol. 19, pp. 423—424

Letter to the Editor

In his letter, published in *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 16, A. Bogdanov concealed the main reason for his disagreement with *Pravda*.

That reason is that A. Bogdanov has for many years been opposing the philosophy of Marxism and upholding bourgeois idealist views against the materialism of Marx and Engels.

For that reason, the Marxist Bolsheviks several years ago considered it their duty to come out against Bogdanov. For the same reason the Marxist Mensheviks, in the person of G. V. Plekhanov, are conducting a literary struggle against Bogdanov. And lastly, for the very same reason, even the so-called *Vperyod* group has broken with Bogdanov.

True, ever since Bogdanov began to contribute to *Pravda*, we doubted whether he would refrain from carrying his fight against the philosophy of Marxism into the columns of the workers' newspaper. Unfortunately, A. Bogdanov hastened to confirm our fears. After getting several small popular articles on innocuous subjects, published in *Pravda*, he shortly submitted an article entitled "Ideolog", in which, in the most "popular" manner, he launched an attack upon the philosophy of Marxism. *The editors refused to publish that anti-Marxist article. This was the cause of the conflict.*

We advise A. Bogdanov, instead of complaining about "family rows", to get *that* article entitled "Ideology" *published* (the liquidationist newspaper will not, of course, refuse hospitality to an anti-Marxist article). All Marxists will then be able to see the real reason for our disagreement with Bogdanov, concerning which he said *not a word* in his lengthy letter.

We believe that the workers have set up a newspaper of their own in order that it should *advocate* Marxism, and not have its columns used to distort Marxism in the spirit of bourgeois "scholars".

We are also very glad that A. Bogdanov has once again raised the question of the article on the *Vperyod* group, which he sent to *Pravda* last summer. Since A. Bogdanov desires it, he will receive (in *Prosveshcheniye*) a detailed statement about the number of untruths that article contained, and about the immense harm that adventurist group has caused the working-class movement in Russia.

Put Pravdy No. 9,
January 31, 1914

Collected Works, Vol. 20, pp. 93—94

Concerning A. Bogdanov

(Extracts)

Why has it become impossible to have A. Bogdanov as a contributor to workers' newspapers and journals that adhere to a stand of consistent Marxism? Because A. Bogdanov is not a Marxist.

The question of a writer's contributions to the workers' press should be approached from the political angle, i. e., not from the point of view of the writer's style, wit, or popularising talent, but from that of his general trend, from the point of view of *what* he is bringing into the working masses by his theories. The Marxists are convinced that the sum of A. Bogdanov's literary activities amounts to attempts to instil into the consciousness of the proletariat the touched-up idealistic conceptions of the bourgeois philosophers.

Put Pravdy No. 21,
February 25, 1914

Collected Works, Vol. 20, pp. 121, 122

To V. B. Stankevich

Cracow, March 24, 1914

Dear V. B.,

Since I do not in the main agree with the programme of your journal as you have set it forth, I must decline to be a contributor.

Yours faithfully,

V. Ilyin

Wl. Uljanow. 51. Ulica Lubomirskiego. Kraków.

Sent to St. Petersburg
First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 276

To A. G. Shlyapnikov

Dear Alexander,

I wrote to you briefly yesterday. Today I want to have a further talk.

I am revolted by the "conditions" laid down by the Japanese. That two editors should have the right to decide on inserting an article written for discussion purposes by a contributor! Not even three, but only two: in other words, the publishers "depend" on no one but themselves.

The meaning of this clause is clear: they want to hide behind Radek and *inflamm*e our differences with him and with the P.S.D. This is not discussion, but the height of intrigue, the utmost cravenness. It's just as it was in Paris in 1911, when we were "dragged" into a discussion with Rappoport, or Lyova, or Viktoryonok, or Bogdanov! I have written to you that the Polish *Gazeta Robotnicza* (February 1916) is attacking us just like those Parisians did then.

In no circumstances will I join an editorial board which is intriguing in this way, under the guise of discussion. If you, Japanese, want to help to disorganise our Party, do it on *your own* responsibility. Your purse is full. Go ahead and publish the "discussion" by Radek or *Gazeta Robotnicza*: then the *Russian* workers will see at once that you are intriguers, and will kick you out. But you want to *play* this mean trick *under cover* of a "collective board". Sorry, but I won't accept this and will expose you. That is my reply to the Japanese on this question.

The same goes for "equal rights" (the elimination of the seventh member, or voting on him). This is a continuation of the old "game". What has Party membership got to do with it? The point is that we are to give "equal rights" to people who have shown themselves in the *negative*! Why should we? Equal rights—the right to spoil the work! In the name of what? For what purpose? To make dissension *permanent*?

No. If they want to make a *new* experiment, we shall take a *new* journal, or more precisely *miscellany*, and *try* (the old confidence has been undermined) to issue one with an editorial board of seven. We shall make the *experiment*: this is the maximum concession which I can conscientiously allow. If the experiment fails, the intriguers and the capitalists lose nothing, because the "purse" can always be withdrawn. And we shall then issue our own miscellany. One that is simple, clear and without intrigue.

I wish you all the best, and ask you to be patient.

Yours,

Lenin

Written after June 4, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Christiania
First published in 1929 in the journal
Proletarskaya Revolyutsia No. 7

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 401–402

Meeting of the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks)

May 30 (June 12), 1917

1. SPEECH CONCERNING AN ORGAN OF THE PRESS FOR THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE

The desire of the Petrograd Committee to have a press organ of its own is something new as far as the Central Committee is concerned. It is difficult to understand how such a question could have arisen at a time when arrangements are being made for a printing-press of our own and an agreement is about to be reached with the Inter-District group for getting Comrade Trotsky to edit a popular organ.

In the West, in the capitals or big industrial centres, there is no division of the press into local and central organs. Such a division is wasteful and harmful. It is not advisable to have a Petrograd Committee organ apart from the Central Organ. Petrograd, as a separate locality, does not exist. Petrograd is the geographical, political and revolutionary centre of all Russia. The life of Petrograd is being followed by the whole of Russia. Every step of Petrograd's is a guideline for whole of Russia. In view of this the life of the Petrograd Committee cannot be treated as a local affair.

Why not accept the Central Committee's suggestion that a Press Committee be formed? In the history of the press in the West, where such committees have existed, there have of course been occasional misunderstandings between the editorial board and the committee, but these were due entirely to disagreements on policy. What grounds are there for any disagreements on policy between the Petrograd Committee and the Central Committee? Whether we want it or not the organ of the Petrograd Committee will always be the leading organ of the Party.

The experience gained in establishing an organ of its own would quickly convince the Petrograd Committee that it is impossible to confine the paper to local affairs. The Central Committee does not deny the need for giving more space to the Petrograd branch in the newspapers. The Central Committee does not deny the need for a popular organ that would bring our slogans home to the masses. But the establishment of a popular newspaper is a difficult job that calls for considerable experience. That is why the Central Committee is enlisting the services of Comrade Trotsky, who has succeeded in establishing his own popular organ—*Russkaya Gazeta*.

In the history of the West the question of a popular organ has never been so acute as it is with us. The level of the masses there rose more evenly as a result of the cultural and educational work done by the Liberals. In countries

like Bohemia there are such popular organs. The purpose of a popular organ is to elevate the reader to an understanding of the leading party organ. If we do not establish a popular organ other parties will win the masses and use them to speculate with. The popular organ should not be of a local type, but owing to postal difficulties it is bound primarily to serve the needs of Petrograd. In order that local needs be adequately served the Petrograd Committee should secure proper representation on the editorial board of the paper.

2. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED AT THE MEETING OF THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE

First Resolution

The Central Committee is to issue two newspapers in Petrograd—the Central Organ and a popular paper with a single editorial board. The Petrograd Committee is to receive a consultative voice on the editorial board of the Central Organ, and a vote in the popular organ. The Central Committee is to devote a definite number of columns in both papers to items of local interest.

Second Resolution

The Petrograd Committee resolves to co-operate in both papers published by the Central Committee on the conditions proposed by the latter, and to make every effort to serve the needs of local activities more fully and widely and to work out in greater detail the general line of the Party. Having reason to fear that the Central Committee or the editorial board appointed by it may place too much trust in the internationalist comrades who have disagreed with Bolshevism in the past, that the Central Committee may cramp the freedom and independence of action of the local comrades, that the Central Committee may not give them the influence they are entitled to as leaders of local activities, the Petrograd Committee is to elect a committee to formulate precise guarantees of the rights of the Petrograd Committee in the local department of both papers.

First published in 1928 in the
journal *Krasnaya Letopis*
(Red Annals) No. 3 (14)

Collected Works, Vol. 24 pp. 543—545

Letter to the District Committees of the Petrograd Organisation of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks)

Dear comrades,

I enclose a resolution of the Petrograd Committee concerning the establishment of a paper of its own, and two resolutions introduced by me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party

at a meeting of the P.C. held on Tuesday, May 30. Will you please discuss these three resolutions and give us your well-considered opinion on them in the fullest possible detail.

On the question as to whether a separate paper for the Petrograd organisation is needed or not, the P.C. and the C.C. hold conflicting views. It is essential and desirable that the greatest possible number of Party members in Petrograd should take an active part in the discussion of this growing conflict and help, by their decision, to settle it.

The Executive of the P.C. has expressed itself unanimously in favour of a separate press organ for the Petrograd Committee, despite the C.C.'s decision to establish *two* newspapers in place of *Pravda*, the size of which is obviously, inadequate. These two papers are: the old *Pravda*, as the Party's Central Organ, and a small *Narodnaya Pravda* (the names of the two papers have not yet been definitely decided upon), as a popular organ for the masses. The two papers, according to the decision of the C.C., are to have a single editorial board, and the P.C. is to have a representative on each paper (one with a consultative voice on the Central Organ, and a voting representative on the popular organ). A Press Committee is to be set up (consisting of workers from the districts who are in close touch with the masses) and a definite number of columns in *both* papers are to be set aside for the needs of the local labour movement.

That is the plan of the C.C.

The Executive of the P.C., on the other hand, wants a special paper *of its own*. The Executive has decided upon this unanimously.

At the meeting of the P.C. held on May 30, after the report by Comrade M. Tomskey and his speech winding up the debate, after my own speech and the discussion in which many comrades participated, there was an equal division of votes—fourteen in favour of the Executive and fourteen against it. My motion was rejected by sixteen votes to twelve.

My own view is that there is no fundamental need for a special organ of the P.C. In view of the *capital's* leading role and country-wide influence, only *one* organ of the Party is needed there, namely, the Central Organ, and a popular paper to be put out in a *specially* popular form by the *same* editorial board.

A special organ of the P.C. is bound to create obstacles towards harmonious work and may even give rise to different lines (or shadings) of policy, which would be extremely harmful, especially at a time of revolution.

Why should we split up our forces?

We are all terribly overworked and have few people to do the work; the party writers are siding more and more with the defencists. Under the circumstances we cannot afford any dispersion of efforts.

We must concentrate our efforts, not disperse them.

Are there any grounds for mistrusting the C.C., for believing that it will not select the editorial board properly, or not give sufficient space in both

papers to local activities, or that it will "bully" the P.C.'s editors, who will be in the minority, and so on?

In my second draft resolution I specially listed some of these arguments (which I heard mentioned at the P.C. meeting on May 30) in order to put the issue frankly before all members of the Party so as to make them weigh *each* of the two arguments carefully and arrive at a well-considered decision.

If you, comrades, have weighty and serious reasons for not trusting the C.C., then say so openly. It is the duty of every member of our democratically organised Party to do so, and then it would be the duty of our Party's C.C. to give special consideration to this distrust of yours, report it to the Party congress and enter into special negotiations with a view to overcoming this deplorable lack of confidence in the C.C. on the part of the local organisation.

If there is no such lack of confidence, then it is unfair and wrong to challenge the C.C.'s right, vested in it by the Party congress, to *direct the activities* of the Party in general and its activities in the capital in particular.

Is our C.C. asking too much in wanting to direct the Petrograd papers? It is not. In the German Social-Democratic Party, in its best days, when Wilhelm Liebknecht stood at the head of the party for scores of years, he was the editor of the party's Central Organ. The C.O. was published in Berlin. The Berlin organisation *never* had a special Berlin paper of its own. There was a Press Committee of workers, and there was a *local section* in the party's Central Organ. Why should we depart from this good example which our comrades in other countries have set us?

If you, comrades, desire *special guarantees* from the C.C., if you want changes made in one or another point of the C.C.'s plan for the establishment of two papers, I would ask you on behalf of the C.C. to carefully consider the matter and present your views.

I believe that the decision of the P.C.'s Executive to establish a *special* newspaper in Petrograd is utterly wrong and undesirable, because it splits up our forces and introduces into our Party the elements of conflict. In my opinion—and on this point I merely voice the view of the C.C.—it is desirable that the Petrograd organisation should support the decision of the C.C., give itself time to check results from the *experience* of the two papers working according to the C.C.'s plan, and then, if need be, pass a special decision on the results of that experiment.

With comradely Social-Democratic greetings,

May 31, 1917

N. Lenin

First published in 1925
in the journal *Krasnaya Letopis*
No. 3 (14)

Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 552–555

Section IV

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Lecture on the 1905 Revolution

(Extract)

October and December 1905 marked the highest point in the rising tide of the Russian revolution. All the wellsprings of the people's revolutionary strength flowed in a wider stream than ever before. The number of strikers—which in January 1905, as I have already told you, was 440,000—reached over half a million in October 1905 (in a single month!). To this number, which applies *only* to factory workers, must be added several hundred thousand railway workers, postal and telegraph employees, etc.

The general railway strike stopped all rail traffic and paralysed the power of the government in the most effective manner. The doors of the universities were flung wide open, and the lecture halls, which in peace time were used solely to befuddle youthful minds with pedantic professorial wisdom and to turn the students into docile servants of the bourgeoisie and tsarism, now became the scene of public meetings at which thousands of workers, artisans and office workers openly and freely discussed political issues.

Freedom of the press was won. The censorship was simply ignored. No publisher dared send the obligatory censorcopy to the authorities, and the authorities did not dare take any measure against this. For the first time in Russian history, revolutionary newspapers appeared freely in St. Petersburg and other towns. In St. Petersburg alone, three Social-Democratic daily papers were published, with circulations ranging from 50,000 to 100,000.

The proletariat marched at the head of the movement. It set out to win the eight-hour day by revolutionary action. "*An Eight-Hour Day and Arms!*" was the fighting slogan of the St. Petersburg proletariat. That the fate of the

revolution could, and would, be decided only by armed struggle was becoming obvious to an ever-increasing mass of workers.

In the fire of battle, a peculiar mass organisation was formed, the famous *Soviets of Workers' Deputies*, comprising delegates from all factories. In several cities these *Soviets of Workers' Deputies* began more and more to play the part of a provisional revolutionary government, the part of organs and leaders of the uprising. Attempts were made to organise Soviets of Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies and to combine them with the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

For a time several cities in Russia became something in the nature of small local "republics". The government authorities were deposed and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies actually functioned as the new government. Unfortunately, these periods were all too brief, the "victories" were too weak, too isolated.

The peasant movement in the autumn of 1905 reached still greater dimensions. *Over one-third* of all the uyezds were affected by the so-called "peasant disorders" and regular peasant uprisings. The peasants burned down no less than two thousand estates and distributed among themselves the food stocks of which the predatory nobility had robbed the people.

Unfortunately, this work was not thorough enough! Unfortunately, the peasants destroyed only one-fifteenth of the total number of landed estates, only one-fifteenth part of what they *should have* destroyed in order to wipe the shame of large feudal landownership from the face of the Russian earth. Unfortunately, the peasants were too scattered, too isolated from each other in their actions; they were not organised enough, not aggressive enough, and therein lies one of the fundamental reasons for the defeat of the revolution.

Written in German before

January 9 (22), 1917

First published in *Pravda* No. 18,

January 22, 1925

Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 23, pp. 247—249

Bolshevism and "Demoralisation" of the Army

Everybody is screaming for "strong government". The only salvation is in a dictatorship, in "iron discipline", in silencing and reducing to obedience all the refractory members of the Right and Left. We know *whom* they wish to silence. The Rights are making no noise, they are *working*. Some of them in the government, others at the factories, all of them with threats of lockouts, orders for the disbanding of regiments, and the threat of penal servitude. The Konovalovs and the Tereshchenkos, with the help of the Kerenskys and the

Skobelevs, are working in an *organised* manner for their own good. And they don't have to be silenced.

All we have is the *right of speech*.

And of this right they want to deprive us.

Pravda is barred from the front. The Kiev "agents" have decided not to distribute *Pravda*. The Zemstvo Union is not selling *Pravda* in its newspaper stands. And now we are promised a "systematic fight against the preaching of Leninism" (*Izvestia*). On the other hand, every spontaneous protest, every excess, wherever it comes from, is *blamed on us*.

This, too, is a method for combating Bolshevism.

A well-tryed method.

Unable as they are to get clear guidelines, aware instinctively how false and unsatisfactory is the position of the official leaders of democracy, the masses are compelled to *grope a way out for themselves*.

The result is that every dissatisfied, class-conscious revolutionary, every angered fighter who yearns for his village home and sees no end to the war, and sometimes simply men who are out to save their own skins, rally to the banner of Bolshevism.

Where Bolshevism has a chance to air its views openly, there we find no disorganisation.

Where there are no Bolsheviks or where they are not allowed to speak, there we find excesses, demoralisation, and pseudo-Bolsheviks.

And that is just what our enemies need.

They need a pretext for saying: „*The Bolsheviks are demoralising the army*” and then *shutting the Bolsheviks' mouths*.

To dispose once for all of "enemy" slander and the ridiculous distortions of Bolshevism, we quote the concluding part of a leaflet distributed in the army by one of our delegates on the eve of the All-Russia Congress.

Here it is:

"Comrades, you must have your say.

"Do not let us have any agreements with the bourgeoisie!

"All power to the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies!

"This does not mean that we must immediately overthrow the present government or disobey it. So long as the majority of the people support it and believe that five socialists can cope with all the rest, we cannot afford to fritter away our forces in desultory uprisings.

"Never!

"Husband your strength! Get together at meetings! Pass resolutions! Demand that all power be handed over to the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies! Convince those who disagree with us! Send your resolution to me at the Congress in Petrograd in the name of your regiment, so that I can quote your voice there!

"But beware of those who, posing as Bolsheviks, will try to provoke you to riots and disturbances as a screen for their own cowardice! Know that though they are with you now, they will sell you out to the old regime at the first hint of danger.

"The real Bolsheviks call you to conscious revolutionary struggle, and not to riots.

"Comrades! The All-Russia Congress will elect representatives, to whom, pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Government will be accountable.

"Comrades! At that Congress I shall demand:

"First, that *all power be handed over to the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.*

"Second, that *a proposal for peace without annexations or indemnities be made immediately in the name of our people to the peoples and governments of all the belligerent nations, both our Allies and our enemies.* If any government tries to turn it down it will be *overthrown by its own people.*

"Third, that the money which people have made out of the war should be converted to state needs *by way of confiscation of the capitalists' war profits.*

"Comrades! Only by the transfer of power to the democracy in Russia, Germany, and France, only *by the overthrow of the bourgeois governments in all countries, can the war be ended.*

"*Our revolution has started this, and it is our task now to give a further impetus to the world revolution by having a fully authorised popular Russian government make an offer of peace to all the governments of Europe and by strengthening our alliance with the revolutionary democrats of Western Europe.*

"*Woe betide the bourgeois government that will persist in continuing the war after this.*

"*Together with its people we shall make revolutionary war upon that government.*

"It is to say all this to our government in Petrograd in your name that I have been elected to the Congress in Petrograd.

"Member of the Army Committee of the 11th Army, Delegate of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) to the Congress of the South-Western Front, Ensign *Krylenko.*"

No one who has taken the trouble to read our Party's resolutions can fail to see that the *gist* of them has been correctly expressed by Comrade Krylenko.

The Bolsheviks are calling the proletariat, the poor peasants and all the toiling and exploited people to a conscious revolutionary struggle, and not to riots and disturbances.

Only a genuine government of the people, a government belonging to the *majority* of the nation, is capable of following the *right* path leading mankind to the overthrow of the capitalist yoke, to deliverance from the horrors and misery of the imperialist war, and to a just and lasting peace.

Pravda No. 72,
June 16 (3), 1917

Collected Works, Vol. 24, pp. 570–572

On Slogans

(Extracts)

We said that the fundamental issue of revolution is the issue of power. We must add that it is revolutions that show us at every step how the question of *where* actual power lies is obscured, and reveal the divergence between formal

and real power. That is one of the chief characteristics of every revolutionary period. It was not clear in March and April 1917 whether real power was in the hands of the government or the Soviet.

Now, however, it is particularly important for class-conscious workers to soberly face the fundamental issue of revolution, namely, who holds state power at the moment? Consider its material manifestations, do not mistake words for deeds, and you will have no difficulty in finding the answer.

Frederick Engels once wrote the state is primarily contingents of armed men with material adjuncts, such as prisons. Now it is the military cadets and the reactionary Cossacks, who have been specially brought to Petrograd, those who are keeping Kamenev and the others in prison, who closed down *Pravda*, who disarmed the workers and a certain section of the soldiers, who are shooting down an equally certain section of the soldiers, who are shooting down an equally certain section of troops in the army. These butchers are the real power. The Tseretelis and Chernovs are ministers without power, puppet Ministers, leaders of parties that support the butchery. That is a fact. And the fact is no less true because Tsereteli and Chernov themselves probably "do not approve" of the butchery, or because their papers timidly dissociate themselves from it. Such changes of political garb change nothing in substance.

The newspaper of 150,000 Petrograd voters has been closed down. The military cadets on July 6 killed the worker Voinov for carrying *Listok "Pravdy"* out of the printers'. Isn't that butchery? Isn't that the handiwork of Cavaignacs? But neither the government nor the Soviets are to "blame" for this, they may tell us.

So much the worse for the government and the Soviets, we reply; for that means that they are mere figureheads, puppets, and that real power is not in their hands.

Primarily, and above all, the people must know the *truth*—they must know who actually wields state power. The people must be told the whole truth, namely, that power is in the hands of a military clique of Cavaignacs (Kerensky, certain generals, officers, etc.), who are supported by the bourgeois class headed by the Cadet Party, and by all the monarchists, acting through the Black Hundred papers, *Novoye Vremya*, *Zhivoye Slovo*, etc., etc.

That power must be overthrown. Unless this is done, all talk of fighting the counter-revolution is so much phrase-mongering, "self-deception and deception of the people".

That power now has the support both of the Tseretelis and Chernovs in the Cabinet and of their parties. We must explain to the people the butcher's role they are playing and the fact that such a "finale" for these parties was inevitable after their "errors" of April 21, May 5, June 9 and July 4 and after their approval of the policy of an offensive, a policy which went nine-tenths of the way to predetermining the victory of the Cavaignacs in July.

All agitational work among the people must be reorganised to ensure that it takes account of the specific experience of the present revolution, and particu-

arly of the July days, i. e., that it clearly points to the real enemy of the people, the military clique, the Cadets and the Black Hundreds, and that it definitely unmasks the petty-bourgeois parties, the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties, which played and are playing the part of butcher's aides.

All agitational work among the people must be reorganised so as to make clear that it is absolutely hopeless to expect the peasants to obtain land as long as the power of the military clique has not been overthrown, and as long as the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties have not been exposed and deprived of the people's trust. That would be a very long and arduous process under the "normal" condition of capitalist development, but both the war and economic disruption will tremendously accelerate it. These are "accelerators" that may make a month or even a week equal to a year.

The substitution of the abstract for the concrete is one of the greatest and most dangerous sins in a revolution. The present Soviets have failed, have suffered complete defeat, because they are dominated by the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties. At the moment these Soviets are like sheep brought to the slaughterhouse and bleating pitifully under the knife. The Soviets *at present* are powerless and helpless against the triumphant and triumphing counter-revolution. The slogan calling for the transfer of power to the Soviets might be construed as a "simple" appeal for the transfer of power to the present Soviets, and to say that, to appeal for it, would now mean deceiving the people. Nothing is more dangerous than deceit.

The cycle of development of the class and party struggle in Russia from February 27 to July 4 is complete. A new cycle is beginning, one that involves not the old classes, not the old parties, not the old Soviets, but classes, parties and Soviets rejuvenated in the fire of struggle, tempered, schooled and refashioned by the process of the struggle. We must look forward, not backward. We must operate not with the old, but with the new, post-July, class and party categories. We must, at the beginning of the new cycle, proceed from the triumphant bourgeois counter-revolution, which triumphed because the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks compromised with it, and which can be defeated only by the revolutionary proletariat. Of course, in this new cycle there will be many and various stages, both before the complete victory of the counter-revolution and the complete defeat (without a struggle) of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and before a new upsurge of a new revolution. But it will only be possible to speak of this later, as each of these stages is reached.

Written in mid-July 1917
Published in pamphlet form in 1917
by the Kronstadt Committee of the
R.S.D.L.P. (B.)

Collected Works, Vol. 25, pp. 187-190

Our Thanks to Prince G. Y. Lvov

(Extract)

The proletariat will never resort to slander. They will close down the bourgeoisie's newspapers after openly declaring by law, by government decree, that the capitalists and their defenders are enemies of the people. The bourgeoisie, in the shape of our enemy, the government, and the petty bourgeoisie, in the shape of the Soviets, are afraid to say a single open and frank word about the ban on *Pravda*, about the reason for closing it down. The proletariat will tell the truth instead of resorting to slander. They will tell the peasants and everyone else the truth about the bourgeois newspapers and why they must be closed down.

Proletarskoye Dyelo No. 5,
August 1 (July 19), 1917

Collected Works, Vol. 25, p. 193

How to Guarantee the Success of the Constituent Assembly

ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

In early April, setting out the Bolsheviks' attitude to the question of whether the Constituent Assembly should be convened, I wrote:

"Yes, and as soon as possible. But there is only one way to assure its convocation and success, and that is by increasing the number and strength of the Soviets and organising and *arming* the working-class masses. This is the only guarantee" (*Political Parties in Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat*, Cheap Library of *Zhizn i Znaniye*, Book III, pp. 9 and 29).

Five months have passed since then and these words have been proved correct by several delays in and postponements of the convocation through the fault of the Cadets. And they have been well borne out by the Kornilov affair.

Now, in connection with the calling of the Democratic Conference on September 12, I should like to dwell on another aspect of the matter.

Both the Menshevik *Rabochaya Gazeta* and *Dyelo Naroda* have deplored the fact that very little is being done for campaigning among the peasants to enlighten this real *mass* of the Russian people, their real majority. Everyone realises and admits that the success of the Constituent Assembly depends on

the enlightenment of the peasants, but ridiculously little is being done about it. The peasants are being deceived, fooled and intimidated by the utterly deceitful and counter-revolutionary bourgeois and "yellow" press, in comparison with which the press of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries (not to speak of the Bolsheviks) is very, very weak.

Why is that so?

Because the ruling S.R. and Menshevik parties are weak, hesitant and inactive, because, disagreeing that all power should be taken over by the Soviets, they leave the peasants in ignorance and solitude, a prey to the capitalists, to *their* press and *their* propaganda.

While boastfully calling our revolution great and shouting to the right and left high-sounding, bombastic phrases about "revolutionary democracy", the Mensheviks and S.R.s *in effect* leave Russia in the conditions of a most ordinary, most petty-bourgeois revolution which, having overthrown the tsar, leaves everything else unchanged and does nothing, absolutely nothing, effective to enlighten the peasants politically and to end the peasants' ignorance, that *last* (and strongest) bulwark, the *bulwark* of the exploiters and oppressors of the people.

This is the time to recall that. It is now, with the Democratic Conference before us, two months ahead of the "appointed" convocation of the Constituent Assembly (to be further postponed), that we must show how easily matters could be put right, how much could be done for the political education of the peasants, if only—if only our "revolutionary democrats" in inverted commas were really revolutionary, i.e., capable of acting in a revolutionary way, and really democratic, i.e., reckoning with the will and interests of the majority of the people, and not of the capitalist minority, which continues to hold power (the Kerensky government) and with which, either directly or indirectly, in a new or old form, the S.R.s and Mensheviks are still eager to compromise.

The capitalists (followed, either from stupidity or from inertia, by many S.R.s and Mensheviks) call "freedom of the press" a situation in which censorship has been abolished and all parties freely publish all kinds of papers.

In reality it is not freedom of the press, but freedom for the rich, for the bourgeoisie, to deceive the oppressed and exploited mass of the people.

Indeed, take, say, the Petrograd and Moscow newspapers. You will see at once that it is the bourgeois papers—*Rech*, *Birzhevka*, *Novoye Vremya*, *Russkoye Slovo*, and so on, and so forth (for there are a great many papers of this sort)—that have by far the largest circulation. What makes for this prevalence? Not at all the will of the majority, for the elections have shown that in both capitals the majority (a gigantic majority, too) favours the democrats, i.e., the S.R.s, Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. These three parties command from three-quarters to four-fifths of the votes, while the circulation of the newspapers they publish is certainly less than a quarter, or even less than one-fifth, that of the whole bourgeois press (which, as we know and see now, supported the Kornilov affair directly and indirectly).

Why is that so?

Everyone knows very well why. Because the publication of a newspaper is a big and profitable capitalist undertaking in which the rich invest millions upon millions of rubles. "Freedom of the press" in bourgeois society means freedom for the *rich* systematically, unremittingly, daily, in millions of copies, to deceive, corrupt and fool the exploited and oppressed mass of the people, the poor.

This is the simple, generally known, obvious truth which everyone sees and realises but which "almost everyone" "bashfully" passes over in silence, timidly evades.

The question is whether and how this crying evil can be fought.

First of all, there is a very simple, good and lawful means which I pointed out in *Pravda* long ago, which it is particularly opportune to recall now, before September 12, and which workers should always bear in mind, for they will hardly be able to do without it when they have won political power.

That means is a state monopoly on private press advertising.

Look at *Russkoye Slovo*, *Novoye Vremya*, *Birzhevka*, *Rech*, etc.—you will see a multitude of private advertisements, which yield a tremendous income, in fact the principal income, to their capitalist publishers. This is how bourgeois papers hold sway, how they get rich, and *how they deal in poison for the people* all over the world.

In Europe there are newspapers which have a circulation as large as one-third the number of inhabitants of the town (for instance, 12,000 copies in a town with a population of 40,000) and are delivered *free to every home*, and yet yield their owners a sizable income. These papers live by advertisements paid by private people, while the free delivery of the paper to every home ensures the best circulation of the advertisements.

Then why cannot democrats who call themselves revolutionary carry out a measure like declaring private press advertising a state monopoly, or banning advertisements anywhere *outside* the newspapers published by the Soviets in the provincial towns and cities and by the *central Soviet* in Petrograd for the whole of Russia? Why must "revolutionary" democrats tolerate such a thing as the enrichment, through private advertising, of rich men, Kornilov backers, and spreaders of lies and slander against the Soviets?

Such a measure would be absolutely just. It would greatly benefit both those who published private advertisements and the whole people, particularly the most oppressed and ignorant class, the peasants, who would be able to have *Soviet* papers, with supplements for the peasants, at a very low price or even free of charge.

Why not do that? Only because private property and hereditary rights (to profits from advertising) are sacred to the capitalist gentlemen. But how can anyone calling himself a revolutionary democrat in the twentieth century, in the second Russian revolution, recognise such rights as "sacred"?!

Some may say it would mean infringing freedom of the press.

That is not true. It would mean extending and restoring freedom of the press, for freedom of the press means that all opinions of *all* citizens may be freely published.

What do we have now? Now, the rich *alone* have this monopoly, and also the big parties. Yet if large *Soviet* newspapers were to be published, with all advertisements, it would be perfectly feasible to guarantee the expression of their opinion to a much greater number of citizens—say, to every group having collected a certain number of signatures. Freedom of the press would *in practice* become much more democratic, would become incomparably more complete as a result.

But some may ask: where would we get printing presses and newsprint?

There we have it!!! The issue is not “freedom of the press” but the exploiters’ sacrosanct ownership of the printing presses and stocks of newsprint they have seized!

Just why should we workers and peasants recognise that sacred right? How is that “right” to publish false information better than the “right” to own serfs?

Why is it that in war-time all sorts of requisitioning—of houses, flats, vehicles, horses, grain and metals—are allowed and practised everywhere, while the requisitioning of printing presses and newsprint is impermissible?

The workers and peasants may in fact be deceived for a while if such measures are made out to be unjust or hard to realise, but the truth will win through in the end.

State power in the shape of the Soviets takes *all* the printing presses and *all* the newsprint and distributes them *equitably*: the state should come first—in the interests of the majority of the people, the majority of the poor, particularly the majority of the peasants, who for centuries have been tormented, crushed and stultified by the landowners and capitalists.

The big parties should come second—say, those that have polled one or two hundred thousand votes in both capitals.

The smaller parties should come third, and then any group of citizens which has a certain number of members or has collected a certain number of signatures.

This is the distribution of newsprint and printing presses that would be just and, with the Soviets in power, could be effected easily enough.

Then, two months before the Constituent Assembly, we could really help the peasants by ensuring the delivery to *every* village of half a dozen pamphlets (or newspaper issues, or special supplements) in *millions* of copies from *every* big party.

That would truly be a “*revolutionary-democratic*” preparation for the elections to the Constituent Assembly; it would be aid to the countryside on the part of the advanced workers and soldiers. It would be state aid to the people’s enlightenment, and not to their stultification and deception; it would be real freedom of the press *for all*, and not for the rich. It would be a break

with that accursed, slavish past which compels us to suffer the usurpation by the rich of the great cause of informing and teaching the peasants.

Rabochy Put No. 11,
September 28 (15), 1917
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 25, pp. 374—379

The Tasks of the Revolution

(Extract)

STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION OF THE LANDOWNERS AND CAPITALISTS

6. The Kornilov and Kaledin revolt was supported by the entire class of the landowners and capitalists, with the party of the Cadets ("people's freedom" party) at their head. This has already been fully proved by the facts published in *Izvestia* of the Central Executive Committee.

However, nothing has been done either to suppress this counter-revolution completely or even to investigate it, and nothing serious can be done without the transfer of power to the Soviets. No commission can conduct a full investigation, or arrest the guilty, etc., unless it holds state power. Only a Soviet government can do this, and must do it. Only a Soviet government can make Russia secure against the otherwise inevitable repetition of "Kornilov" attempts by arresting the Kornilovite generals and the ringleaders of the bourgeois counter-revolution (Guchkov, Milyukov, Ryabushinsky, Maklakov and Co.), by disbanding the counter-revolutionary associations (the State Duma, the officers' unions, etc.), by placing their members under the surveillance of the local Soviets and by disbanding counter-revolutionary armed units.

This government alone can set up a commission to make a full and public investigation of the Kornilov case and all the other cases, even those started by the bourgeoisie; and the party of the Bolsheviks, in its turn, would appeal to the workers to give full co-operation and to submit only to such a commission.

Only a Soviet government could successfully combat such a flagrant injustice as the capitalists' seizure of the largest printing presses and most of the papers with the aid of millions squeezed out of the people. It is necessary to suppress the bourgeois counter-revolutionary papers (*Rech*, *Russkoye Slovo*, etc.), to confiscate their printing presses, to declare private advertisements in the papers a state monopoly, to transfer them to the paper published by the Soviets, the paper that tells the peasants the truth. Only in this way can and must

the bourgeoisie be deprived of its powerful weapon of lying and slandering, deceiving the people with impunity, misleading the peasantry, and preparing a counter-revolution.

Rabochy Put Nos. 20-21, October 9 and 10
(September 26 and 27), 1917
Signed: N. K.

Collected Works, Vol. 26, pp. 66-67

Meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee

November 4 (17), 1917

1. SPEECH ON THE PRESS

Comrade Karelin assured us that the way he was taking led to socialism, but I am afraid this would be marching to socialism backwards. Trotsky was right: the officer cadets staged their uprising, and war was declared in Petrograd and Moscow for freedom of the press. This time the Socialist-Revolutionaries did not act at all like socialists or revolutionaries. This week all the telegraph offices were in Kerensky's hands. The Vikzhel was on their side. But they had no troops. It turned out that the army was on our side. The civil war was started by a handful of men. It is not over. Kaledin's troops are approaching Moscow, and the shock troops are approaching Petrograd. We do not want a civil war. Our troops have shown great restraint. They held their fire, and it all began when three of our men were killed. Krasnov was given soft treatment. He was only placed under house arrest. We are against civil war. But if it nevertheless goes on what are we to do? Trotsky was right in asking in whose behalf you spoke? We asked Krasnov whether he could sign on behalf of Kaledin that the latter would not continue the war. He naturally replied that he could not. How can we stop retaliative measures against an enemy who has not stopped his hostile operations?

We shall negotiate when peace terms are offered to us. But so far peace is being offered to us by those on whom it does not depend. These are only fine words. After all, *Rech* is an organ of the Kaledinites. We can well allow that the Socialist-Revolutionaries are sincere, but it is, after all, a fact that Kaledin and Milyukov are behind them.

The firmer your stand, soldiers and workers, the more we shall gain. Otherwise they will say to us: "If they've let out Milyukov, they can't be strong." Earlier on we said that if we took power, we intended to close down the bourgeois newspapers. To tolerate the existence of these papers is to cease being a socialist. Those who say: "Open the bourgeois newspapers", fail to understand that we are moving at full speed to socialism. After all, tsarist

newspapers were closed down after the overthrow of tsarism. Now we have thrown off the bourgeois yoke. We did not invent the social revolution: it was proclaimed by the Congress of the Soviets—no one protested, all adopted the decree proclaiming it. The bourgeoisie proclaimed liberty, equality and fraternity. The workers say: "We want something else." We are told that we are retreating. No, comrades, it is the Socialist-Revolutionaries who are returning to Kerensky. We are told that there are new elements in our resolution. Of course there are, because we are advancing to socialism. When the Socialist-Revolutionaries made speeches in the First and the Second Duma, they were also ridiculed for saying something new.

There should be a monopoly of private advertisements. The members of the printers' union look at them from the point of view of income. They will get it, but in another form. We cannot provide the bourgeoisie with an opportunity for slandering us. We must appoint a commission right away to probe the ties between the banks and the bourgeois newspapers. What kind of freedom do these newspapers want? Isn't it freedom to buy rolls of newsprint and hire crowds of penpushers? We must escape from the freedom of a press dependent on capital. This is a matter of principle. If we are to advance to socialism we cannot allow Kaledin's bombs to be reinforced by the bombs of falsehood.

Of course, our draft law is not perfect. But it will be applied everywhere by the Soviets in accordance with their local conditions. We are not bureaucrats and do not want to insist on the letter of the law everywhere, as was the practice in the old government offices. I recall the Socialist-Revolutionaries saying that people in the countryside knew so very little. They were getting their information from *Russkoye Slovo*. We should blame ourselves for leaving the newspapers in the hands of the bourgeoisie. We must go forward, to a new society, and take the same attitude to the bourgeois newspapers as we did to the ultra-reactionary papers in February and March.

Izvestia No. 218,
November 7, 1917

Collected Works, Vol. 26, pp. 284—286

Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)

March 6—8, 1918

ROUGH OUTLINE OF THE DRAFT PROGRAMME

(Extract)

The chief stress is shifted *from formal recognition* of liberties (such as existed under bourgeois parliamentarism) *to actually ensuring the enjoyment* of liberties by the working people who are overthrowing the exploiters, e.g., from *recogni-*

tion of freedom of assembly to the *handing over* of all the best halls and premises to the workers, from recognition of freedom of speech to the handing over of all the best printing presses to the workers, and so forth.

Kommunist No. 5,
March 9, 1918

Collected Works, Vol. 27, p. 155

Extraordinary Fourth All-Russia Congress of Soviets

March 14—16, 1918

REPORT ON RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE TREATY

March 14

(Extract)

I realise full well that the Russian bourgeoisie are today urging us on towards a revolutionary war when it is absolutely impossible for us to have such a war. This is essential to the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

When they shout about an obscene peace and do not say a word about who brought the army to its present state, I realise quite well that it is the bourgeoisie together with the *Dyelo Naroda* people, the Tsereteli and Chernov Mensheviks and their yes-men (*applause*)—I know quite well that it is the bourgeoisie who are bawling for a revolutionary war. Their class interests demand it, their anxiety to see Soviet power make a false move demands it. It is not surprising that this comes from people who, on the one hand, fill the pages of their newspapers with counter-revolutionary scribbling . . . (*Voices*: “They’ve all been suppressed!”) Unfortunately, not yet all of them, but we will close them all down. (*Applause*.) I should like to see the proletariat that would allow the counter-revolutionaries, those who support the bourgeoisie and collaborate with them, to continue using the monopoly of wealth to drug the people with their bourgeois opium. There is no such proletariat. (*Applause*.)

Pravda No. 47 and No. 48,
March 16 and 17, 1918

Collected Works, Vol. 27, p. 179

Theses on the Present Political Situation

(Extract)

It is essential to wage a ruthless struggle against the bourgeoisie, which on account of the above circumstances has raised its head during the past few days, and to declare a state of emergency, close newspapers, arrest the leaders and so on. These measures are as necessary as the military campaign against the rural bourgeoisie, who are holding back grain surpluses and infringing the grain monopoly. There will be no salvation either from the counter-revolution or from famine without iron discipline on the part of the proletariat.

Written May 12 or 13, 1918
First published in 1929
in *Lenin Miscellany XI*

Collected Works, Vol. 27, p. 363—364

The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky

(Extract)

Proletarian democracy suppresses the exploiters, the bourgeoisie—and is therefore not hypocritical, *does not promise them* freedom and democracy—and gives the working people *genuine democracy*. Only Soviet Russia has given the proletariat and the whole vast labouring majority of Russia a *freedom and democracy* unprecedented, impossible and inconceivable in any bourgeois democratic republic, by, for example, taking the palaces and mansions away from the bourgeoisie (without which freedom of assembly is sheer hypocrisy), by taking the print-shops and stocks of paper away from the capitalists (without which freedom of the press for the nation's labouring majority is a lie), and by replacing bourgeois parliamentarism by the democratic organisation of the *Soviets*, *which are a thousand times* nearer to the people and more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois parliament.

Pravda No. 219, October 11, 1918
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 108

The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky

(Extract)

The Soviets are the direct organisation of the working and exploited people themselves, which *helps* them to organise and administer their own state in every possible way. And in this it is the vanguard of the working and exploited people, the urban proletariat, that enjoys the advantage of being best united by the large enterprises; it is easier for it than for all others to elect and exercise control over those elected. The Soviet form of organisation automatically *helps* to unite all the working and exploited people around their vanguard, the proletariat. The old bourgeois apparatus—the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections, etc.(these real privileges are the more varied the more highly bourgeois democracy is developed)—all this disappears under the Soviet form of organisation. Freedom of the press ceases to be hypocrisy, because the printing-plants and stocks of paper are taken away from the bourgeoisie. The same thing applies to the best buildings, the palaces, the mansions and manorhouses. Soviet power took thousands upon thousands of these best buildings from the exploiters at one stroke, and in this way made the right of assembly—without which democracy is a fraud—a *million times* more democratic for the people. Indirect elections to non-local Soviets make it easier to hold congresses of Soviets, they make the *entire* apparatus less costly, more flexible, more accessible to the workers and peasants at a time when life is seething and it is necessary to be able very quickly to recall one's local deputy or to delegate him to a general congress of Soviets.

Proletarian democracy is *a million times* more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; Soviet power is a million time more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic.

Written October–November 1918
Published in pamphlet form in 1918
by Kommunist Publishers, Moscow

Collected Works, Vol. 28, pp. 247–248

First Congress of the Communist International

March 2—6, 1919

THESES AND REPORT ON BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

March 4

(Extract)

8. "Freedom of the press" is another of the principal slogans of "pure democracy". And here, too, the workers know—and socialists everywhere have admitted it millions of times—that this freedom is a deception while the best printing-presses and the biggest stocks of paper are appropriated by the capitalists, and while capitalist rule over the press remains, a rule that is manifested throughout the world all the more strikingly, sharply and cynically the more democracy and the republican system are developed, as in America for example. The first thing to do to win real equality and genuine democracy for the working people, for the workers and peasants, is to deprive capital of the possibility of hiring writers, buying up publishing houses and bribing newspapers. And to do that the capitalists and exploiters have to be overthrown and their resistance suppressed. The capitalists have always used the term "freedom" to mean freedom for the rich to get richer and for the workers to starve to death. In capitalist usage, freedom of the press means freedom of the rich to bribe the press, freedom to use their wealth to shape and fabricate so-called public opinion. In this respect, too, the defenders of "pure democracy" prove to be defenders of an utterly foul and venal system that gives the rich control over the mass media. They prove to be deceivers of the people, who, with the aid of plausible, fine-sounding, but thoroughly false phrases, divert them from the concrete historical task of liberating the press from capitalist enslavement. Genuine freedom and equality will be embodied in the system which the Communists are building, and in which there will be no opportunity for amassing wealth at the expense of others, no objective opportunities for putting the press under the direct or indirect power of money, and no impediments in the way of any workingman (or groups of workingmen, in any numbers) for enjoying and practising equal rights in the use of public printing-presses and public stocks of paper.

Theses published March 6, 1919 in *Pravda* No. 51; report first published in 1920 in the German and in 1921 in the Russian editions of the minutes of the First Congress of the Communist International

Collected Works, Vol. 28, pp. 460—461

Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)

March 18—23, 1919

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

March 18

(Extract)

We have here a detailed financial report. Of the various items, the largest is in connection with workers' book publishing and with newspapers: 1,000,000, again 1,000,000 and again 1,000,000—3,000,000; Party organisations, 2,800,000; editorial expenses, 3,600,000. More detailed figures are given in this report, which will be duplicated and distributed to all the delegates. Meanwhile the comrades can get their information from the representatives of the groups. Permit me not to read these figures. The comrades who submitted the reports gave in them what is most important and illustrative—the general results of the propaganda work performed in the sphere of publication. The Kommunist Publishing House released sixty-two books. A net profit of 2,000,000 in 1918 was earned by the newspaper *Pravda*, 25,000,000 copies of which were issued during the year. The newspaper *Bednota* earned a net profit of 2,370,000 and 33,000,000 copies were issued. The comrades of the Organising Bureau of the Central Committee have promised to rearrange the detailed figures they possess in such a way as to give at least two comparable criteria. It will then be clear what vast educational work is being performed by the Party, which for the first time in history is using modern large-scale capitalist printing equipment in the interests of the workers and peasants and not in the interests of the bourgeoisie. We have been accused thousands and millions of times of having violated the freedom of the press and of having renounced democracy. Our accusers call it democracy when the capitalists can buy out the press and the rich can use the press in their own interests. We call that plutocracy and not democracy. Everything that bourgeois culture has created for the purpose of deceiving the people and defending the capitalists we have taken from them in order to satisfy the political needs of the workers and peasants. And in this respect we have done more than any socialist party has done in a quarter of a century, or in half a century.

Published in *Pravda*, March-April 1919

Collected Works, Vol. 29, pp. 162—163

Draft Third Clause of the General Political Section of the Programme

(FOR THE PROGRAMME COMMISSION OF THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS)

Bourgeois democracy confined itself to proclaiming formal rights equally applicable to all citizens, e.g., the right of assembly, of association, of the press. At best all legislative restrictions on these points were abolished in the most democratic bourgeois republics. But, in reality, both administrative practices and particularly the economic bondage of the working people always made it impossible for them, under bourgeois democracy, to make any wide use of these rights and liberties.

By contrast, proletarian or Soviet democracy, instead of the formal proclamation of rights and liberties, guarantees them in practice first and foremost to those classes of the population who were oppressed by capitalism, i.e., the proletariat and the peasantry. For this purpose, the Soviet power expropriates from the bourgeoisie premises, printing presses and stocks of paper, and places them at the entire disposal of the working people and their organisations.

The task of the Russian Communist Party is to draw ever wider masses of working people into the exercise of their democratic rights and liberties, and to extend the material possibilities for this.

Written not later than

March 20, 1919

First published on April 22, 1956

in *Pravda* No. 113

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 505

Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of Workers in Education and Socialist Culture

July 31, 1919

(Extract)

Freedom of the press in capitalist society means freedom to trade in publications and in their influence on the masses. Freedom of the press means that the press, a powerful medium for influencing the masses, is maintained at the expense of the capitalists. Such is the freedom of the press that the Bolsheviks violated

and they are proud of having produced the first press free of the capitalists, that in a gigantic country they have for the first time set up a press that does not depend on a handful of rich men and millionaires—a press that is devoted entirely to the struggle against capital, the struggle to which we must subordinate everything. Only the factory proletariat that is capable of leading the peasant masses that are not class-conscious can be the leader, the vanguard, of the working people in this struggle.

Pravda No. 170, August 3, 1919

Collected Works, Vol. 29, pp. 534–535

Letter to G. Myasnikov

August 5, 1921

Comrade Myasnikov,

I have only just managed to read *both* your articles. I am unaware of the nature of the speeches you made in the Perm (I think it was Perm) organisation and of your conflict with it. I can say nothing about that; it will be dealt with by the Organisation Bureau, which, I hear, has appointed a special commission.

My object is a different one: it is to appraise your articles as literary and political documents.

They are interesting documents.

Your main mistake is, I think, most clearly revealed in the article “Vexed Questions”. And I consider it my duty to do all I can to try to convince you

At the beginning of the article you make a correct application of dialectic. Indeed, whoever fails to understand the substitution of the slogan of “civil peace” for the slogan of “civil war” lays himself open to ridicule, if not things worse. In this, you are right.

But precisely because you are right on this point, I am surprised that in drawing your conclusions, you should have forgotten the dialectics which you yourself had properly applied.

“Freedom of the press, from the monarchists to the anarchists, inclusive-ly” Very good! But just a minute: every Marxist and every worker who ponders over the four years’ experience of our revolution will say, “Let’s look into this—*what sort* of freedom of the press? *What for*? For *which class*?” We do not believe in “absolutes”. We laugh at “pure democracy”.

The “freedom of the press” slogan became a great world slogan at the close of the Middle Ages and remained so up to the nineteenth century. Why? Because it expressed the ideas of the progressive bourgeoisie, i.e., its struggle against kings and priests, feudal lords and landowners.

No country in the world has done as much to liberate the masses from the influence of *priests* and *landowners* as the R.S.F.S.R. has done, and is doing.

We have been performing *this* function of "freedom of the press" *better than anyone else* in the world.

All over the world, wherever there are capitalists, freedom of the press means freedom to *buy up* newspapers, to *buy* writers, to *bribe*, buy and fake "public opinion" for the *benefit of the bourgeoisie*.

This is a fact.

No one will ever be able to refute it.

And what about us?

Can anyone deny that the bourgeoisie in this country has been defeated, *but not destroyed*? That it *has gone into hiding*? Nobody can deny it.

Freedom of the press in the R.S.F.S.R., which is surrounded by the bourgeois enemies of the whole world, means freedom of *political organisation* for the bourgeoisie and its most loyal servants, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

This is an irrefutable fact.

The bourgeoisie (all over the world) is still very much stronger than we are. To place in its hands yet *another* weapon like freedom of political organisation (= freedom of the press, for the press is the core and foundation of political organisation) means facilitating the enemy's task, means helping the class enemy.

We have no wish to commit suicide, and therefore, we will not do this.

We clearly see this *fact*: "freedom of the press" means *in practice* that the international bourgeoisie will immediately buy up hundreds and thousands of Cadet Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik writers, and will organise their propaganda and fight against us.

That is a fact. "They" are richer than we are and will buy a "force" ten times larger than we have, to fight us.

No, we will not do it; we will not help the international bourgeoisie.

How could you *descend* from a class appraisal—from the appraisal of the relations between *all* classes—to the sentimental, philistine appraisal? This is a mystery to me.

On the question: "civil peace or civil war", on the question of how *we* have won over, and *will continue* to "win over", the peasantry (to the side of the proletariat), on these two key world questions (= questions that affect the very *substance* of world politics), on these questions (which are dealt with in *both* your articles), you *were able* to take the Marxist standpoint, instead of the philistine, sentimental standpoint. You *did take account* of the relationships of *all* classes in a *practical*, sober way.

And suddenly you slide down into the abyss of sentimentalism!

"Outrage and abuses are rife in this country: freedom of the press will expose them."

That, as far as I can judge from your two articles, is where you slipped up. You have allowed yourself to *be depressed* by certain sad and deplorable *facts*, and lost the ability *soberly* to appraise the forces.

Freedom of the press will help *the force* of the world bourgeoisie. That is a fact. "Freedom of the press" *will not help to purge the Communist Party* in Russia of a number of its weaknesses, mistakes, misfortunes and maladies (it cannot be denied that there is a spate of these maladies), because this is *not* what the world bourgeoisie wants. But freedom of the press will be a weapon in the hands of *this world bourgeoisie*. It is not dead; it is alive. It is lurking nearby and watching. It has already *hired* Milyukov, to whom Chernov and Martov (partly because of their stupidity, and partly because of factional spleen against us; but mainly because of the objective logic of their petty-bourgeois-democratic position) are giving "faithful and loyal" service.

You took the wrong fork in the road.

You wanted to *cure* the Communist Party of its maladies and have snatched at a *drug* that will cause certain death—not at your hands, of course, but at the hands of the world bourgeoisie (+ Milyukov + Chernov + Martov).

You forgot a minor point, a very tiny point, namely: the world bourgeoisie and its "freedom" to buy up *for itself* newspapers, and *centres of political organisation*.

No, we will not take this course. *Nine hundred* out of every thousand *politically* conscious workers will refuse to take this course.

We have many maladies. Mistakes (our *common* mistakes, all of us have made mistakes, the Council of Labour and Defence, the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee) like those we made in distributing fuel and *food* in the autumn and winter of 1920 (those were enormous mistakes!) have greatly aggravated the maladies springing from our situation.

Want and calamity abound.

They have been terribly *intensified* by the famine of 1921.

It will cost us a supreme effort to extricate ourselves, but we will get out, and have already begun to do so.

We will extricate ourselves, for, in the main, our policy is a correct one and takes into account *all* the class forces on an *international* scale. We will extricate ourselves because we do not try to make our position look better than it is. We realise all the difficulties. We see *all* the maladies, and are taking measures to cure them methodically, with perseverance, and without giving way to panic.

You have allowed panic to get the better of you; panic is a slope—once you stepped on it you slid down into a position that looks very much as if you are forming a new party, or are about to commit suicide.

You must not give way to panic.

Is there any isolation of the Communist Party cells from the Party? There is. It is an evil, a misfortune, a malaise.

It is there. It is a severe ailment.

We can see it.

It must be cured by proletarian and Party measures and not by means of "freedom" (*for the bourgeoisie*).

Much of what you say about reviving the country's economy, about mechanical ploughs, etc., about fighting for "influence" over the peasantry, etc., is true and useful.

Why not *bring this out* separately? We shall get together and work harmoniously in one party. The benefits will be great; *they will not come all at once*, but *very slowly*.

Revive the Soviets; secure the co-operation of non-Party people; let *non-Party* people verify the work of Party members: this is absolutely right. No end of work there, and it has hardly been started.

Why not amplify *this* in a *practical* way? In a pamphlet for the Congress?

Why not take that up?

Why be afraid of *spade* work (*denounce* abuses through the Central Control Commission, or the Party press, *Pravda*)? Misgivings about slow, difficult and arduous spade work cause people to give way to panic and to seek an "easy" way out: "freedom of the press" (*for the bourgeoisie*).

Why should you persist in your mistake—an obvious mistake—in your non-Party, *anti-proletarian* slogan of "freedom of the press"? Why not take up the less "brilliant" (scintillating with bourgeois brilliance) spade work of driving out abuses, combating them, and *helping* non-Party people in a practical and business-like way?

Have you ever brought up any *particular* abuse to the notice of the C.C., and suggested a definite *means* of eradicating it?

No, you have not.

Not a single time.

You saw a spate of misfortunes and maladies, gave way to despair and rushed into the arms of the enemy, the bourgeoisie ("freedom of the press" *for the bourgeoisie*). My advice is: do not give way to despair and panic.

We, and those who sympathise with us, the workers and peasants, still have an immense reservoir of strength. We still have plenty of health and vigour.

We are not doing enough to cure our ailments.

We are not doing a good job of practising the slogan: promote non-Party people, let non-Party people verify the work of Party members.

But we can, and will, do a hundred times more in this field than we are doing.

I hope that after thinking this over carefully you will not, out of false pride, persist in an obvious political mistake ("freedom of the press"), but, pulling yourself together and overcoming the panic, will get down to practical work: help to establish *ties* with non-Party people, and help non-Party people to *verify* the work of Party members.

There is no end of work in this field. Doing this work you can (and should) help to *cure* the disease, slowly but surely, instead of chasing after will-o'-the-wisps like "freedom of the press".

With communist greetings,

Lenin

New Times and Old Mistakes in a New Guise

(Extract)

2) we struck a blow that was felt all over the world against the fetishes of petty-bourgeois democracy, the Constituent Assembly and bourgeois "liberties" such as freedom of the press for the rich.

Pravda No. 190, August 28, 1921
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 33, p. 22

Seventh Moscow Gubernia Conference of the Russian Communist Party

October 29—31, 1921

REPORT ON THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

October 29

(Extract)

I shall give you an example which may illustrate more concretely and vividly the conditions under which our struggle has evolved. In Moscow recently I saw a copy of the privately owned publication *Listok Obyavleni*. After three years of our old economic policy this *Listok Obyavleni* seemed to me to be something very unusual, very new and strange. Looking at it from the point of view of the general methods of our economic policy, however, there was nothing queer about it. Taking this slight but rather typical example you must remember how the struggle was developing, and what were its aims and methods in our revolution in general. One of the first decrees at the end of 1917 was that which established a state monopoly of advertising. What did that decree imply? It implied that the proletariat, which had won political power, assumed that there would be a more gradual transition to the new social and economic relations—not the abolition of the private press, but the establishment of a certain amount of state control that would direct it into the channels of state capitalism. The decree which established a state monopoly of advertising thereby assumed that privately owned newspapers would continue to exist as a general rule, that an economic policy requiring private advertisements would continue, and that private property would remain—that a number of private establishments

which needed advertising and advertisements would continue to exist. That is what the decree on the state monopoly of private advertising meant, and it could have meant nothing else. There was something analogous to this in the decrees on banking, but I shall not go into that, for it would only complicate my example.

What was the fate of the decree establishing a state monopoly of private advertising issued in the first weeks of the Soviet government? It was soon swept away. When we now recall the course of the struggle and the conditions under which it has proceeded since then, it is amusing to think how naïve we were to talk then, at the close of 1917, about introducing a state monopoly of private advertising. What sort of private advertising could there have been in a period of desperate struggle? The enemy, i.e., the capitalist world, retaliated to that Soviet government decree by continuing the struggle and by stepping it up to the limit. The decree assumed that the Soviet government, the proletarian dictatorship, was so firmly established that no other system of economy was possible; that the necessity to submit to it would be so obvious to the mass of private entrepreneurs and individual owners that they would accept battle where we, as the state power, chose. We said in effect: "We will allow your private publications to continue; private enterprises will remain; the freedom to advertise, which is necessary for the service of these private enterprises, will remain, except that the state will impose a tax on advertisements; advertising will be concentrated in the hands of the state. The private advertising system, as such, will not be abolished; on the contrary, you will enjoy those benefits which always accrue from the proper concentration of publicity." What actually happened, however, was that we had to wage the struggle on totally different terrain. The enemy, i.e., the capitalist class, retaliated to this decree of the state power by completely repudiating that state power. Advertising ceased to be the issue, for all the remnants of what was bourgeois and capitalist in our system had already concentrated their forces on the struggle against the very foundations of state power. We, who had said to the capitalists, "Submit to state regulation, submit to state power, and instead of the complete abolition of the conditions that correspond to the old interests, habits and views of the population, changes will be gradually made by state regulation"—we found our very existence in jeopardy. The capitalist class had adopted the tactics of forcing us into a desperate and relentless struggle, and that compelled us to destroy the old relations to a far larger extent than we had at first intended.

Nothing came of the decree establishing state monopoly of private advertising; it remained a dead letter, while actual events, i.e., the resistance of the capitalist class, compelled our state to shift the struggle to an altogether different plane; not to the petty, ridiculously petty, issues we were naïve enough to dabble in at the end of 1917, but to the issue of "To be or not to be?"—to smash the sabotage of the former salaried class; to repel the whiteguard army, which was receiving assistance from the bourgeoisie of the whole world.

I think that this episode with the decree on advertising provides useful

guidance on the fundamental question of whether the old tactics were right or wrong. Of course, when we appraise events in the light of subsequent historical development, we cannot but regard our decree as naïve and, to a certain extent, mistaken. Nevertheless, it did contain something that was right, in that the state power—the proletariat—made an attempt to pass, as gradually as possible, breaking up as little of the old as possible, to the new social relations while adapting itself, as much as possible, one may say, to the conditions then prevailing. But the enemy, i.e., the bourgeois class, went to all ends to provoke us into an extremely desperate struggle. Was this strategically correct from the enemy's point of view? Of course it was; for how could the bourgeoisie be expected to submit to an absolutely new, hitherto unprecedented proletarian power without first testing its strength by means of a direct assault? The bourgeoisie said to us, in effect, "Excuse us, gentlemen, we shall not talk to you about advertisements, but about whether we can find in our midst another Wrangel, Kolchak or Denikin, and whether they will obtain the aid of the international bourgeoisie in deciding, not whether you are going to have a State Bank or not, but an entirely different issue." Quite a lot was written about the State Bank at the end of 1917 but as in the case with advertisements it all remained largely a dead letter.

Published in *Pravda*
Nos. 248 and 249,
November 3 and 4, 1921

Collected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 89—91

Draft (or Theses) of the R.C.P.'s Reply to the Letter of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany

(Extract)

3. The Soviet system is the destruction of that bourgeois falsehood known as "freedom of the press"—i.e., freedom to bribe the press, freedom for the rich, the capitalists, to buy up newspapers, freedom for the capitalists to buy up hundreds of newspapers and in this way fabricate the so-called public opinion.

The German Independents (when speaking of them it is *always* to be understood that the Longuetists, the British Independents, etc., etc., are included) do not admit this truth, do not spread it, do not agitate daily for the abolition by revolutionary means of the enslavement by capital of the press which bourgeois democrats falsely call freedom of the press.

The Independents do not carry on any such agitation and recognise Soviet power by way of lip-service alone (*Lippenbekenntniss*); in actual fact they are fully weighed down by the prejudices of bourgeois democracy.

They cannot explain *the main thing*, the expropriation of the printing works and warehouses and the supplies of paper, because they do not understand it.

Published in March 1920

Collected Works, Vol. 30, p. 338

Supplement

Decree on the Press

In the grave, crucial hour of the Revolution, and the days immediately following it, the Provisional Revolutionary Committee has been forced to undertake a series of measures directed against the counter-revolutionary press of all hues and shades.

This has immediately caused the general outcry that the new socialist authorities have violated the basic principle of their programme by encroaching on the freedom of the press.

The Workers' and Peasants' Government draws the people's attention to the fact that in our society this liberal screen has in fact hidden the freedom of the propertied classes to seize the lion's share of the entire press, to poison the minds of the people unhindered and to sow discord among the masses.

It is common knowledge that the bourgeois press is one of the most powerful instruments of the bourgeoisie. In the critical time, when the new government, the government of workers and peasants is just establishing itself, it is impossible to leave this instrument wholly in the hands of the enemy, bearing in mind that at this stage it is no less dangerous than bombs and machine-guns. This explains why the temporary and extraordinary measures have been taken to stop the flow of filth and slander, with which the yellow and green press would have readily ruined the recent victory of the people.

As soon as the new order is consolidated, every administrative measure of restriction with regard to the press will be lifted; it will be granted a full freedom within the limits of its responsibility before the courts, in conformity with the boardest and most progressive press laws.

Considering, however, that restriction of the press even in critical times shall not exceed the absolutely necessary limits, the Council of People's Commissars decrees:

General Provisions About the Press

1. Subject to closure shall be only those organs of the press which 1) urge open resistance or defiance to the Workers' and Peasants' Government;
- 2) sow discord by distorting facts and obvious slander;
- 3) call upon people to

commit patently criminal acts, that is, acts subject to criminal punishment.

2. Organs of the press shall be closed, temporarily or constantly, only by decision of the Council of People's Commissars.

3. The present decree shall operate temporarily and be annulled by a special decree with the advent of normal conditions of social life.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin)

Pravda No. 171, November 10, 1917

On the Revolutionary Press Tribunal

Decree of the Council of People's Commissars

1. A Revolutionary Press Tribunal shall be set up under the Revolutionary Tribunal. The competence of the Revolutionary Press Tribunal shall include the consideration of crimes and offences committed against the nation through the use of the press.

2. The crimes and offences through the use of the press shall include any spreading of false or distorted information about public developments, since these actions constitute an encroachment upon the rights and interests of the people and also violate the press statutes enacted by Soviet government.

3. The Revolutionary Press Tribunal shall consist of three persons to be elected by the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies for a term not exceeding three months.

4. a) To conduct preliminary inquiry, an Investigation Committee of three members, elected by the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers and Peasants' Soviet, shall be instituted under the Revolutionary Press Tribunal.

b) On the receipt of a report or a complaint the Investigation Committee shall consider it within 48 hours and submit the case either to another body according to its cognizance or appoint the hearing by the Revolutionary Tribunal.

c) Decisions taken by the Investigation Committee concerning arrests, searches, seizures and discharges of arrested persons shall be operative if they are passed by a collegium consisting of three members. In urgent cases punishment may be meted out by every member of the Investigation Committee provided this penalty is approved by the Committee within 12 hours.

d) The Investigation Committee orders shall be carried into effect by the Red Guards, militia, troops and executive organs of the Republic.

e) Complaints filed against the Investigation Committee orders shall be

submitted to the Revolutionary Tribunal and shall be considered at administrative meetings of the Revolutionary Press Tribunal.

f) The Investigation Committee has the right 1) to demand that all departments and officials and also all local self-government and juridical bodies and authorities, notary offices, public and trade organisations, commercial and industrial enterprises, government, public and private credit institutions submit to it all requisite information and documents and also cases under investigation; 2) to watch, through its members or specially authorised persons, over cases considered by all the institutions and authorities, mentioned in the previous paragraph, for the purpose of procuring necessary information.

5. Judicial inquiries shall be conducted with the participation of the prosecution and defence.

6. All citizens of both sexes who enjoy political rights shall be allowed to act as prosecutors or defence attorneys, as the parties to a case may choose.

7. The Revolutionary Press Tribunal shall meet in public. The Tribunal proceedings shall be recorded fully.

8. The Revolutionary Press Tribunal decisions shall be final and shall not be subject to appeal. The Commissariat for the Press under the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies shall carry into execution the decisions and judgements passed by the Revolutionary Press Tribunal.

9. The Revolutionary Press Tribunal is entitled to impose the following penalties; 1) fine; a) public censure, by which the arraigned publication is brought to the notice of the general public through the media decided upon by the Tribunal; 3) prominent display of a judgement or special refutation of false information; 4) temporary or final suspension of a publication, or the withdrawal of it from circulation; 5) confiscation of printing-houses or the belongings of magazines and newspapers brought to book and their conversion into public property; 6) deprivation of liberty; 7) banishment of convicted persons from the capital, particular areas, and deportation from the Russian Republic; 8) deprivation of guilty persons of some or all political rights.

10. The Revolutionary Press Tribunal shall be maintained at the expense of the state.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

V. Ulyanov (N. Lenin)

November 10, 1917.

*Gazette of the Workers' and Peasants'
Government* No. 30, February 22, 1918.

On the Formation of a Commission to Probe the Dependence of Bourgeois Newspapers on Banks

DRAFT RESOLUTION

November 4 (17), 1917

For the bourgeoisie, freedom of the press meant freedom of the rich to publish and of the capitalists to control the newspapers, a practice which in all countries, including even the freest, produced a corrupt press.

For the Workers' and Peasants' Government, freedom of the press means liberation of the press from capitalist oppression, and public ownership of paper mills and printing presses; equal right for public groups of a certain size (say, numbering 10,000) to a fair share of newsprint stocks and a corresponding quantity of printers' labour.

As a first step towards this goal, imperative for the working people's liberation from capitalist oppression, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government has appointed a Commission of Inquiry to look into the ties between capital and periodicals, the sources of their funds and revenues, the list of their donors, covers for their deficits, and every other aspect of the newspaper business in general. Concealment of books, accounts or any other documents from the Commission of Inquiry, or the giving of any evidence known to be false shall be punishable by a revolutionary court.

All newspaper owners, shareholders, and all members of their staffs shall be under the obligation to immediately submit written reports and information on the said questions to the Commission of Inquiry, probing the ties between capital and the press, and its dependance on capital, at Smolny Institute, Petrograd.

The following persons are appointed to serve on the Commission of Inquiry:*

The Commission shall have the power to co-opt members, invite experts, subpoena witnesses, order the presentation of all accounts, etc.

Decree on the Introduction of State Monopoly of Advertising

1. Paid advertising in periodicals, in collections and posters and also the supply of kiosks, offices and other establishments with advertisements are declared to be state monopoly.

* Follows space for the enumeration of names. — *Ed.*

2. Advertisements shall be published only by the organs of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government in Petrograd and by the organs of local Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. Organs of the press which have published the paid advertisement without being entitled to do so, shall be closed down.

3. Owners of newspapers, of advertising offices and also all employees in bureaux, dispatch offices and similar establishments are duty bound to remain in their jobs until these institutions are turned over to the state as represented by its above-mentioned bodies, and to bear full responsibility for complete order in their enterprises, for their continued functioning and for the delivery to the organs of Soviets of all private advertisements and of all cash for the accepted advertisement and of complete accounts with attached documents.

4. All managers of the press organs and offices dealing with paid advertising and also all workers and other employees of these enterprises should forthwith assemble into town meetings and unite first in town unions and then into an all-Russia Union with the object of securing a more smooth and proper organisation of work, accepting and placing private advertisements in Soviet publications and also with a view to elaborating the rules of the acceptance and printing of advertisements in more convenient forms for the population.

5. Persons guilty of concealing documents or money and also of malfeasance, of sabotage of the measures, stipulated in articles 3 and 4, shall be punished by imprisonment for up to three years, as well as the confiscation of all property.

6. Placing advertisements in private publications for money in the shape of reports, articles or in any other disguised form shall be punished accordingly.

7. Before the state takes over the afore-mentioned enterprises, their workers and other employees shall be maintained on money which belongs to the enterprises where they are employed and is subject to be delivered to the state.

8. Enterprises dealing with the reception and delivery of advertisements shall be confiscated by the state with the payment, in case of need, of a temporary state benefit to the respective owners. Small owners, investors and shareholders who had money deposited in the confiscated enterprises shall be fully compensated.

9. All publications, bureaux and dispatch offices and generally the enterprises placing paid advertisements shall immediately supply Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies with exact information concerning their whereabouts and proceed to turn over their duties on pain of punishment provided for in Article 5.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars
V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

People's Commissar for Education
A. V. Lunacharsky

Gazette of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government No. 6,
November 8 (21), 1917

Printed according to the text in the collection *Lenin About the Press*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1959, pp. 695—696

The Decree of the Council of People's Commissars

The sum of Rbls. 448,000 is to be allocated over and above estimates and to be placed at the disposal of the state printing house for paying off wages to workers and covering other immediate needs.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

Vl. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Executive Chief of the Council of People's Commissars

Vl. Bonch-Bruyevich

Council Secretary

N. Gorbunov

December 5, 1917

Decree was adopted at the Council meeting on December 4 (17)

Decrees of Soviet Power, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1957, Vol. I, p. 182

Printed according to the text in the collection *Lenin About the Press*, Moscow, 1959, p. 697.

To Deputy Commissar for the Press Comrade Yankovsky

In accordance with the decision passed by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, the Council of People's Commissars instructs Comrade Yankovsky, Deputy Commissar for the press, to adopt all the necessary measures to requisition the printing house of the *Birzheviye Vedomosti* with all premises, machinery, printing materials, newsprint and other accessories.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Acting Executive Chief of the Council of People's Commissars

Mekhonoshin

Secretary

N. Gorbunov

December 13 (26), 1917

Decrees of the Soviet Power, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1957, Vol. I, p. 551

The Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the Sale of Soviet Press Publications in the Post and Telegraph Offices

The Council of People's Commissars deems it necessary to use the organisational facilities of the post and telegraph offices to ensure the broadest possible and constant supply of the mass of workers and peasants in Soviet Russia with government and Party periodical and non-periodical printed matter.

With this aim in view the Council of People's Commissars decrees:

1. Beginning with December 1, 1918 to organise the retail sales of newspapers, journals, pamphlets and books, published by organs of Soviet government or communist organisations, in all post and telegraph offices.

2. To empower the People's Commissariat for Post and Telegraph to issue special regulations governing the mailing and sale of the afore-mentioned publications regardless of the present postal regulations.

3. To instruct the People's Commissariat for Post and Telegraph to organise, as of January 1, 1919, the dispatch of Soviet periodicals in the post and telegraph offices of Soviet Russia and to see to it that these offices should be able to undertake all the functions of subscription, reception and supply of subscribers with government and Party press publications so as to make unnecessary the existence of special dispatch offices at the press organs.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars
V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

*Izvestiya of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets No. 257,
November 24, 1918*

Decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies on the Russian Telegraph Agency

1. According to the former decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets and the Council of People's Commissars concerning the merger of the Bureaux of the All-Russia CEC of Soviets and the Petrograd Telegraph Agency, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets resolves that the establishment to be set up shall be named the Russian Telegraph Agency under the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets, ROSTA in short.

2. The Russian Telegraph Agency under the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets shall be the central Soviet information organ for the entire Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

3. All the information offices of the former Petrograd Telegraph Agency and the separately functioning Press Bureaux in the provinces and abroad shall merge and form local bureaux of the Russian Telegraph Agency.

4. All Soviet information offices in the provinces which have functioned so far independently of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency and the Press Bureaux shall be subordinated to the Russian Telegraph Agency and become its local bureaux. In particular, the Press Agency of the Northern Commune in Petrograd shall cease to exist and shall become the Petrograd Bureau of the Russian Telegraph Agency.

5. The telegraph address of the Russian Telegraph Agency shall be as follows: Moscow-Vestnik.

6. All the correspondents of the former Petrograd Telegraph Agency and the Press Bureaux shall be transferred to the Russian Telegraph Agency.

7. The internal structure of the Russian Telegraph Agency shall be brought in line with the directives contained in the minutes of the meeting attended by the members of the Board and the executive workers of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency and the Press Bureaux on August 24, 1918.

8. All contracts of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency and the Press Bureaux with different persons and establishments shall henceforward be assumed by the Russian Telegraph Agency. This shall also apply to the agreements entered by the Petrograd Telegraph Agency with foreign telegraph agencies.

9. All cash on hand and current accounts in banks, as well as the planned allocations of the Petrograd Telegraph Agencies and the Press Bureaux shall be transferred to the account of the Russian Telegraph Agency.

Chairman of the All-Russia
Central Executive Committee of Soviets
Y. Sverdlov

September 7, 1918

*Collection of the Laws
and Directives of the Workers'
and Peasants' Government,*
No. 65, September 12, 1918

Printed according to the text in the
collection *Documents of Party and
Soviet Press*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1956

Section V

THE BOURGEOIS PRESS

The Russian Tsar Seeks the Protection of the Turkish Sultan Against his People

(Extract)

The foreign press of all countries and all parties is teeming with reports, telegrams, and articles concerning the siding of part of the Black Sea Fleet with the Russian revolution. The newspapers are at a loss for words in which to express their astonishment; they find no terms strong enough to describe the disgrace which the autocratic government has brought upon itself.

The peak in this disgrace was *the tsarist government's appeal to Rumania and Turkey for police assistance* against the mutinous sailors. Here is proof positive that the "Turks within" are a greater menace to the Russian people than all the "Turks without". The Sultan of Turkey is to protect the tsarist autocracy from the Russian people; the tsar cannot rely on Russia's armed forces, and so he begs other powers for help. Better proof of the utter bankruptcy of the tsarist regime can hardly be imagined. Better material to make the soldiers of the Russian army see the role they are playing could hardly be found.

Observe what *The Times* of July 4 (new style) writes editorially. It should be noted that this is one of the most affluent and best-informed newspapers in the world, and that this mouthpiece of the conservative English bourgeoisie finds even our *Osvobozhdeniye* liberals over-radical, sympathises with the "Shipovians", etc. In a word, no one can possibly suspect it of exaggerating the strength and importance of the Russian revolution.

"The impotence of the [Russian] Government at sea," writes *The Times*, "receives a striking illustration from the Note it is stated to have sent to the *Porte*, [i.e., to the *Turkish Government*] and to the Government of *Rumania*. This document [of the Russian Government] calls upon the Governments in

question to treat the mutinous sailors of the Russian fleet as common criminals, and warns them that should they act otherwise international complications may follow. In other words, the Government of the Tsar is stooping to beg the *Sultan of Turkey* and the *King of Rumania* to be good enough to do for him the police work which he is no longer able to do for himself. Whether *Abdul Hamid* will condescend to give him the required assistance or not remains to be seen. So far the only result of the mutiny upon the Turkish authorities has been to induce them to exhibit unusual vigilance, and the first exhibition of it has been that they fired a blank shot across the bows of the Russian guardship on Saturday, when she was entering the Bosphorus after dark with the *Russian Ambassador* on board. They would hardly have asserted their watchfulness in that fashion twelve months ago. The Government of Rumania rightly ignored the demand that the mutineers should be treated as criminals, as was to be expected from the rulers of a self-respecting nation. They issued orders that the mutineers were not to be furnished with coals or provisions, but they informed the 700 sailors on board the *Kniaz Potemkin* that if they choose to land they will be treated only as foreign deserters."

And so the Rumanian Government does not in the least side with the revolution; far from it! Yet it has no desire to stoop to police service for the universally hated and despised tsar of all the Russias. It refuses the tsar's request. It acts in the only way the "*government of a self-respecting nation*" can act.

That is how the Russian autocracy is now spoken of in Europe by those who only yesterday fawned on the "great and mighty monarch"!

Proletary, No. 7,
July 10 (June 27), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 8, pp. 569—570

European Capital and the Autocracy

(Extract)

Let us return, however, to European capital and its political "speculations". How much tsarist Russia quails before this capital may be seen, for instance, from the following highly instructive incident. *The Times*, organ of the conservative English bourgeoisie, published an article entitled "Is Russia Solvent?" The article described in detail the "subtle mechanism" of the financial manipulations of Messrs. Witte, Kokovtsev & Co. They are always running their business at a loss. They muddle through only by getting deeper and deeper into debt. In between loans the proceeds of the preceding loan are placed in the Treasury, and the "gold reserve" is then triumphantly proclaimed a "free

cash balance". The gold obtained as a loan is shown to everybody as proof of Russia's wealth and solvency! Small wonder that the English merchant compared this hanky-panky to the tricks of the Humberts, the famous impostors, who used to display borrowed or swindled money (or even a safe purporting to contain money) in order to obtain new loans. *The Times* writes: "The frequent appearances of the Russian Government as a borrower in the Continental money market are due, not to capital requirements—that is to say, to reproductive enterprises or exceptional and transitory expenses—but almost exclusively to the normal deficiency of national income. This means that, as she is situated today, Russia is marching direct to insolvency. Her national balance-sheet leaves her every year deeper in debt. Her liabilities to the foreigner are more than her people can bear, and she has practically nothing to show for them. Her gold reserve is a colossal Humbert safe, the vaunted millions of which are unconsciously lent by her dupes for their own further deception."

How artful! To pick a dupe, borrow money from him, then show him this very money as evidence of your wealth, in order to wheedle further loans from him!

The comparison with those notorious swindlers, the Humbert family, was so apt and the "gist" and purpose of the famous "free cash balance" were so neatly nailed that that article in such a respectable conservative newspaper created a sensation. Kokovtsev, the Minister of Finance, personally sent a telegram to *The Times*, which it printed forthwith (March 23 [10]). In his telegram the insulted Kokovtsev invited the editors of *The Times* to come to St. Petersburg and verify the gold reserve in person. The editors thanked him for the kind invitation, but declined it, on the simple grounds that the article which had hurt the feelings of the tsar's servant did not in the least deny the existence of a gold reserve. The comparison with the Humberts implied, not that Russia did not have the gold reserve to which it referred, but that this reserve was actually made up of other people's money, of wholly unsecured borrowings which did not in the least testify to Russia's wealth, and to which it would be ridiculous to refer as security for fresh loans!

Mr. Kokovtsev missed the *point* of this witty but malicious comparison, and set the whole world laughing by his telegram. Investigating gold reserves in banks was not in the range of duties of journalists, *The Times* said in its reply to the Minister of Finance. Indeed, it was the duty of the press to expose the trick played with the aid of these really existing "gold reserves" fictitiously displayed as evidence of the country's wealth. The question is not whether you have this gold reserve or not, the newspaper lectured the Russian Minister of Finance in an article dealing with this comic telegram. We believe that you have it. The question is, what are your assets and your liabilities? What is the amount of your debts and what security have you? Or, more plainly put, is your stored reserve your property, or is it borrowed and liable to be refunded, which you cannot do in full because you do not possess so much? The English bourgeois, making fun of the simple Minister, tried to explain to him this

none-too-subtle thing in a variety of ways, adding for his edification: If you are looking for someone to investigate your assets and liabilities, why not call on the representatives of the Russian people? As it happens, the people's representatives are keen to get together in a representative assembly, be it called Zemsky Sobor or by some other name. Surely they will not refuse to investigate *properly*, not only the famous "gold reserve", but *all* the finances of the autocracy. And they will certainly be able to make a thorough job of it.

"Possibly", *The Times* sarcastically concludes, "the knowledge that the representative assembly would claim this office as a right" makes the tsarist government fear the convocation of such an assembly, "at least in any shape in which it could exercise real power."

An insidious assertion. It is all the more insidious, all the more significant, for being made, in reality, not by *The Times*, but by the entire *European bourgeoisie*—made, not as a polemical manoeuvre, but as an open expression of its distrust of the autocracy, of its unwillingness to lend it money, of its desire to deal with the lawful representatives of the Russian bourgeoisie. It is not an assertion, but a warning. It is not a sneer, but an *ultimatum*, the ultimatum of European capital to the Russian autocracy. While Japan's allies, the English, word this ultimatum in the form of sarcasm, Russia's allies, the French, in their most conservative, most bourgeois paper, *Le Temps*, say the same thing, only a little more mildly—sugar-coating the pill, but virtually nonetheless refusing to lend any more, and advising the autocracy to make peace with Japan and with the Russian bourgeois liberals. Here is another voice, that of a no less respectable English magazine, *The Economist*: "The truth about Russian finance is at length coming to be appreciated in France. We have pointed out again and again that Russia has long been living on borrowed money, that, despite glowing statements issued by succeeding Ministers of Finance, the budgets have shown a large deficit year after year, though these have been cunningly concealed by a book-keeping device, and that the much-vaunted 'free cash balances' of the Treasury consist principally of the proceeds of loans and partly of the deposits of the State Bank." After telling the Russian autocracy these home truths, this financial magazine finds it necessary, however, to add some bourgeois consolations to the effect that if you can manage to make peace immediately and to make some paltry concessions to the liberals, Europe will doubtlessly begin again to lend you millions upon millions.

We are witnessing what is virtually a speculative gamble of the international bourgeoisie to save Russia from revolution and tsarism from utter ruin. The speculators are putting pressure on the tsar by refusing to grant loans. They are making use of their power, the power of the money-bag. They want a moderate and tidy bourgeois-constitutional (or pseudo-constitutional) regime in Russia. The rapid march of events unites them ever more closely into a single counter-revolutionary bourgeois alliance, regardless of differences of nationality—French financiers and English business magnates, German capitalists, and Russian merchants. *Osvobozhdeniye* has acted in the spirit of this mildly

moderate bourgeois party. In issue No. 67, where he sets forth the "programme of the Democratic Party" and even recognises (for how long?) universal, direct, and equal suffrage by secret ballot (passing over in modest silence the arming of the people!), Mr. Struve ends his new *profession de foi* with the following characteristic statement, printed in bold type "for the sake of importance": "At the present moment the demand for the immediate cessation of the war should stand outside and *above the programme of every progressive party in Russia*. In practice this means that *the government now existing in Russia* should, through the medium of France, begin peace negotiations with the Japanese Government." The distinction between the bourgeois-democratic and the Social-Democratic demands to end the war could hardly be stated more trenchantly. The revolutionary proletariat does not put this demand "above the programme"; it addresses it, not to "the government now existing", but to the free, truly sovereign popular Constituent Assembly. The revolutionary proletariat does not "speculate" on the mediation of the French bourgeoisie, which is seeking peace for avowedly anti-revolutionary and anti-proletarian purposes.

Finally, it is essentially with this same international party of the moderate bourgeoisie that Mr. Bulygin is now bargaining—skilfully playing for time, wearing his opponent down, feeding him with promises, but giving absolutely nothing definite, and leaving everything, absolutely everything, in Russia as it was before, beginning with the use of troops against strikers, continuing with the arrest of political suspects and repressive measures against the press, and ending with a dastardly incitement of the peasants against the intellectuals and the brutal flogging of rebel peasants. And the liberals rise to the bait; some are already beginning to believe Bulygin, while in the Lawyers' Association Mr. Kuzmin-Karavayev tries to persuade the liberals to sacrifice universal suffrage for the sake of . . . Mr. Bulygin's blue eyes!

There is only one force that can stand up to the international alliance of the moderate conservative bourgeoisie, and that is the international alliance of the revolutionary proletariat. With respect to political solidarity, this alliance is already fully formed. As for the practical side and the revolutionary initiative, everything depends on Russia's working class and the success of its joint democratic action for the decisive struggle in conjunction with the millions of the urban and rural poor.

The Advice of the Conservative Bourgeoisie

The Second Congress of the Zemstvo representatives was held in Moscow a few weeks ago. Russian newspapers are not allowed to print a word about it. The English newspapers report numerous details received from eyewitnesses who attended the Congress and who telegraphed, not only its decisions, but the substance of the speeches made by the representatives of the various shadings. The decisions of the 132 Zemstvo representatives amount in their essence to an acceptance of the constitutional programme published by Mr. Struve and analysed by us in *Vperyod*, No. 18 ("Political Sophisms"). This programme provides for a bicameral popular legislature and the retention of the monarchy. The Upper House is to consist of deputies from the Zemstvos and the municipal councils, the Lower is to be elected on the basis of universal, direct, and equal suffrage by secret ballot. Our legal newspapers, forced to keep silent about the Congress, have begun to publish details of the programme, which makes it all the more important now to analyse it.

As regards the Congress, we shall probably have occasion more than once to return to it. For the time being we shall recount, on the authority of the English newspapers, a particularly interesting event at this Congress, namely, the disagreement, or split, between the "liberal", or opportunist or Shipov, party and the "radical" party. The disagreement arose over the question of universal suffrage, to which the former party is opposed. On Sunday, May 7 (April 24) it transpired that 52 members of the Congress backed Shipov and were ready to walk out if the Congress declared for universal suffrage. On Monday a score among them voted with the majority for universal suffrage. Thereupon a resolution on the convocation of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal suffrage was adopted unanimously, a considerable majority declaring for direct elections and for the non-admission (to the Constituent Assembly) of representatives of the municipal councils and Zemstvos. Thus, *for the time being*, the followers of Shipov have been defeated at the Congress of the Zemstvo representatives. The majority has come to the conclusion that the only way to preserve the monarchy and prevent revolution is to grant universal, direct, and equal suffrage by secret ballot, rendered innocuous through indirect and unequal elections to one of the two houses.

The opinion of the English conservative bourgeoisie on this Congress and on this decision is most instructive. "It is quite impossible," writes *The Times*, "for foreigners to gauge the political importance of this remarkable meeting until we learn from trustworthy authority what measure of support it commands amongst the huge mass of the Russian people. It may mark the beginning of a real constitutional reform; it may be the first stage on the road to revolution; it may be a mere fire of straw which the bureaucracy have tolerated because they know it will burn harmlessly out."

A remarkably true characterisation! Indeed, the further course of the Russian revolution is far from being determined by an event like this Congress. "The support of the huge mass of the people" is still a moot question, not as regards the actual fact of the people's support (which is assured), but rather as regards the strength of this support. If the government puts down the uprising, then the liberal Congress will indeed have been a fire of straw. And the moderate European liberals, of course, advise the golden mean: a moderate constitution which would stave off the revolution. The government's confusion, however, fills them with dismay and discontent. The ban on publishing the decisions of the Congress puzzles *The Times*, since the delegates, now dispersed to their home districts, have every means of informing the entire Russian public of their decisions. "To have refused to allow the Congress to meet, to have arrested its members when they did meet, or to have used them as a screen for a sham reform would all have been intelligible courses. But to let them meet and disperse, and then to try and silence them is merely inept."

The stupidity of the tsarist government, as proved by its confusion and impotence (for confusion at a revolutionary moment is a sure sign of impotence), fills European capital with grave concern (*The Times* is a mouthpiece of "the City", the high financiers of the world's richest city). This confusion increases the probability of a real, victorious revolution sweeping everything in its path, a revolution that strikes terror into the hearts of the European bourgeoisie. The latter blames the autocracy for losing its head and the liberals for making "immoderate" demands! Upon the question (universal suffrage) "which the . . . most experienced Legislatures in Europe would hesitate to decide in the course of a prologued session [fumes *The Times*]—they seem to have practically reversed their attitude in five short days" and adopted extremist decisions. European capital advises Russian capital to follow its example. We do not doubt that this advice will be taken—but hardly before the autocracy has had its power *curtailed*. The European bourgeoisie in its day fought against absolutism still more "immoderately", by still more revolutionary methods than the Russian bourgeoisie does in its day. The "obduracy" of the Russian autocracy and the immoderacy of Russian liberalism are due, not to their inexperience, as *The Times* seems to imply, but to factors beyond their control—the international situation, foreign policy, and most of all to that heritage of Russian history which has driven the autocracy to the wall and piled up under its dominance contradictions and conflicts never known in Western Europe. The proverbial stability and strength of Russian tsarism in the past necessarily condition the force of the revolutionary assault upon it. This is most unpleasant to all gradualists and opportunists; it terrifies even many Social-Democrats from the tail-ender camp, but such is the fact.

The Times deplores the defeat of Shipov. Why, only last November he was the undisputed chief of the reform party and now . . . "so rapidly does revolution devour its children". Poor Shipov! To suffer defeat and be branded as the evil genius of the revolution—could fate be more unjust? The "radicals"

who voted Shipov down at the Congress of the Zemstvo representatives shock *The Times*, which cries in horror that they adhere to the theoretical principles of the French Convention. The doctrine of equality, of equal rights for all citizens, of the sovereignty of the people, etc., "has been proved by many . . . experiments to be, perhaps, the most prolific of evil amongst all the brood of disastrous sophistries which Jean Jacques Rousseau bequeathed to mankind. It is the tap-root of Jacobinism, fatal by its mere presence to the growth of just and wholesome reforms."

The opportunists of liberalism touchingly embrace with the opportunists of Social-Democracy in their partiality for employing the bogey of "Jacobinism". In an epoch of democratic revolution only hopeless reactionaries or hopeless philistines can raise the bogey of Jacobinism.

Proletary, No. 2,
June 3 (May 21), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 8, pp. 457—460

The First Victory of the Revolution

(Extract)

Geneva, November 1 (October 19)

No, tsarism is still far from having surrendered. The autocracy has by no means fallen as yet. Many great battles will still have to be fought by the revolutionary proletariat, and the first victory will help it to rally its forces and enlist new allies in the struggle.

"The very success of the cause of freedom," *The Times* correspondent wrote the day the Manifesto was proclaimed, "will only stimulate the reactionary elements to greater activity, and so long as the army remains under its present chiefs Russia cannot be safe from the possibility of a *pronunciamento*." "It is . . . doubtful whether the forced surrender of the government in the very midst of a revolutionary upheaval can be regarded otherwise than as a signal for further strife." "It is not known whether the bureaucracy has been ousted from its citadel or whether it has merely retreated from its advance positions," say the bourgeois optimists, although the facts show clearly that the "citadel" of the autocracy is still quite intact.

The enforced nature of the concession is what most of all disturbs the moderate bourgeois. *Le Temps*, organ of the ruling money-bags of France, waxed highly indignant over "anarchy", and showered abuse and slander on the organisers of the all-Russia political strike and its participants. Though satisfied by the tsar's constitutional promises as such, this newspaper now remarks with concern: "Instead of acting on his own initiative, the tsar con-

tended himself with signing the 'instructions' of the liberal opposition. This is a poor method, lending the subsequent reforms an enforced nature, the nature of something fragmentary and sudden. This method places the government at odds with itself and sets a premium on violence. Unfortunately, it is only too clear that matters had reached a point where there was no other way out of the impasse into which the government had been led. Let us pass a wet sponge over the nature of this capitulation—capitulation not only to the constitutionalists, moderate souls, who should have been heeded sooner, but capitulation to a strike and revolution."

No, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, the workers will never forget the enforced nature of the tsar's capitulation! The workers will never forget that it was only by force, by the force of their organisation, their unanimity and their mass heroism, that they wrested from tsarism a recognition of liberty in a paper manifesto; and only in this way will they win real liberty for themselves.

Proletary, No. 24,
November 7 (October 25), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 9, pp. 430—431

The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers' Party

(Extract)

Constitutional illusions represent an entire period in the Russian revolution which naturally set in after the suppression of the *first* armed uprising (which will yet be followed by a second one), and after the Cadets' election victories. Constitutional illusions are a politically opportunist and bourgeois poison, which the Cadet press, taking advantage of the enforced silence of the socialist newspapers, is pouring into the brains of the people through its millions of copies. We have before us the newspaper *Tovarishch*, an organ of those Cadets who go among "the people", and especially among the working class. In its first issue it sings dithyrambs to the Cadets: "In its programme it [the Cadet Party] promises [humph, humph, prom-is-es!] to defend the interests of the peasants [*à la* Kaufman?] and the workers [why, of course!] and the political rights of all Russian citizens without exception. If it obtains a majority in the State Duma, the present government, which has done so much harm to the people, will have to go, and the state will be administered by new men [the Muravyovs in place of Witte?] *who will heed the voice of the people!*" Yes, yes—heed the voice of the people? . . . How beautifully those Cadets write!

We are sure that there is not a single socialist who will not feel outraged by this shameless bourgeois lie, who will deny that it is absolutely necessary

to combat this bourgeois corruption of the working class with the utmost vigour, a corruption which is all the more dangerous because the Cadets have heaps of newspapers, whereas we have not a single one, in spite of our innumerable attempts to start a most moderate, most restrained and most modest socialist newspaper.

Written on March 24-28
(April 6-10), 1906
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Collected Works, Vol. 10, pp. 271-272

The Happening to the King of Portugal

The bourgeois press, even of the most liberal and "democratic" trend, needs must point a Black-Hundred moral when discussing the assassination of the Portuguese adventurer.

Take, for example, the special correspondent of one of Europe's best bourgeois-democratic newspapers—the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. He begins his story with a semi-humorous account of the way the flock of correspondents, as if descending on their prey, made a rush for Lisbon as soon as the sensational news was received. "I shared a sleeping compartment with a well-known London journalist," writes this gentleman, "who began to boast of his experience. He had already been to Belgrade on the same errand and could consider himself 'a special correspondent for cases of regicide'."

Indeed, the happening to the king of Portugal is a truly "occupational accident" of kings.

Small wonder that we have professional correspondents specialising in the description of their Majesties' professional "misadventures".

But however strong the element of cheap and vulgar sensationalism is with such correspondents, the truth has away of asserting itself. "A merchant residing in the busiest shopping district" told the *Frankfurter Zeitung* correspondent the following: "As soon as I learned what had happened I hung out a mourning flag. But very soon customers and acquaintances started coming in and asking whether I had gone out of my mind and was determined to ruin my custom. Do you mean to say that no one has any feeling of compassion, I asked. My dear sir, *you* wouldn't believe what kind of answers I received! And so I removed the mourning flag."

Commenting on this, the liberal correspondent writes:

"A people as innately good-natured and friendly as the Portuguese are, must have gone through a harsh school to learn to hate so implacably even in the grave. And if this is true—as it undoubtedly is, and by keeping silent about it I would

be distorting historical truth—if not only such mute demonstrations pronounce judgement on the crowned victim, if at every turn you hear words of abuse, even from ‘law-abiding people’, levelled at the victim of assassination, you naturally find yourself wanting to study the rare combination of circumstances which has made the psychology of a people so abnormal. For a people which does not concede to death its ancient and sacred right of atoning for all earthly sins, must be either morally degenerate already, or there must exist conditions engendering an unfathomable feeling of hatred, which clouds the clear eye of fair judgement.’”

O, liberal hypocrites! Why do you not brand as moral degenerates those French scholars and writers, who even to this day hate and virulently abuse not only the leading personalities of the 1871 Commune but even those of 1793? Not only the fighters of the proletarian revolution, but even those of the bourgeois revolution? Because the “democratic” lackeys of the *modern* bourgeoisie regard it as “normal” and “moral” that the people should “good-naturedly” endure every possible indignity, outrage, and atrocity at the hands of crowned adventurers.

Otherwise, continues the correspondent (i.e., otherwise than as a result of exceptional conditions), “one could not understand the fact that already today one monarchist newspaper speaks about innocent victims from among the people with almost greater sorrow than it does about the king, and we already see quite clearly how legends are beginning to form that will invest the assassins with a halo of glory. Whereas in almost all cases of assassination the political parties hasten to dissociate themselves from the assassins, the Portuguese Republicans are frankly proud of the fact that the ‘martyrs and heroes of February 1st’ came from their ranks . . .”.

The bourgeois democrat, in his excessive zeal, goes to the length of being ready to describe as a “revolutionary legend” the respect which Portuguese citizens pay to the men who sacrificed themselves in order to remove a king who had made a mockery of the constitution!

The correspondent of another bourgeois newspaper, the *Milan Corriere della Sera*, reports the severe censorship imposed in Portugal after the assassination. Telegrams are not passed. Ministers and kings are not characterised by that “good nature” which appeals so strongly to the honest bourgeois in the case of the mass of the people! In war, as in war—rightly argue the Portuguese adventurers who have taken the place of the assassinated king. Communication has become almost as difficult as in war. Reports have to be sent by a roundabout route, first by post to Paris (perhaps to some private address), and thence transmitted to Milan. “Not even in Russia,” writes the correspondent on February 7, “during the most violent revolutionary periods, did the censorship clamp down so hard as it now does in Portugal.”

“Some Republican newspapers,” this correspondent reports on February 9 (New Style), “write today [the day of the king’s funeral] in terms which I positively dare not repeat in a telegram.” In a report dated February 8, which arrived after that of the 9th, the comment of the newspaper *Pays* on the funeral arrangements is quoted:

"The mortal remains of two monarchs were borne past—the useless ashes of a wrecked monarchy, which had been sustained by treachery and privileges, and whose crimes have smirched two centuries of our history."

"This is a Republican newspaper, of course," the correspondent adds, "but is not the appearance of an article thus worded on the day of the king's funeral an eloquent fact?"

For our part, we will merely add that we regret one thing—that the Republican movement in Portugal did not settle accounts with all the adventurers in a sufficiently resolute and open manner. We regret that in the happening to the king of Portugal there is still clearly visible the element of conspiratorial, i.e., impotent, terror, one that essentially fails to achieve its purpose and falls short of that genuine, popular, truly regenerative terror for which the Great French Revolution became famous. Possibly the republican movement in Portugal will mount still higher. The sympathy of the socialist proletariat will always be on the side of the Republicans against the monarchy. But what they have succeeded in doing so far in Portugal is only to *frighten* the monarchy by the assassination of two monarchs, but not to *destroy* it.

The socialists in all European parliaments have expressed, to the best of their ability, their sympathy with the Portuguese people and the Portuguese Republicans, their loathing for the ruling classes, whose spokesmen condemned the assassination of the adventurer and expressed their sympathy towards his successors. Some socialists openly declared their views in parliament, others walked out during the expressions of sympathy towards the "sufferer"—the monarchy. Vandervelde in the Belgian parliament chose a "middle" way—the worst way—by squeezing out of himself a phrase to the effect that he honoured "all the dead", meaning both the king and those who had killed him. We trust that Vandervelde will be a solitary exception among the socialists of the world.

Republican tradition has weakened considerably among the socialists of Europe. This is understandable and to some extent justifiable, inasmuch as the imminence of the *socialist* revolution diminishes the practical importance of the struggle for a *bourgeois* republic. Often, however, the slackening of republican propaganda signifies, not vigour in the striving for the complete victory of the proletariat, but a weak consciousness of the proletarian's revolutionary aims in general. Not without reason did Engels, in criticising the Erfurt Draft Programme in 1891, impress upon the German workers with the greatest possible emphasis the importance of the struggle for a republic, and the possibility of such a struggle becoming the order of the day in Germany as well.

With us in Russia the struggle for a republic is a matter of immediate practical significance. Only the most contemptible petty-bourgeois opportunists like the Popular Socialists or the "S. D." Malishevsky (see *Proletary*, No. 7, in regard to him) could draw from the experience of the Russian revolution the conclusion that in Russia the struggle for the republic is relegated to the background. On the contrary, the experience of our revolution has proved that the struggle for the abolition of the monarchy is inseparably bound up

in Russia with the peasants' struggle for the land, with the whole people's struggle for freedom. The experience of our counter-revolution has shown that a struggle for freedom which does not affect the monarchy is no struggle at all, but petty-bourgeois cowardice and flabbiness or downright deception of the people by the careerists of bourgeois parliamentarism.

Proletary, No. 22,
(March 3) February 19, 1908

Collected Works, Vol. 13, pp. 470—474

A Replete Bourgeoisie and a Craving Bourgeoisie

Le Temps, one of the most influential organs of the French conservative bourgeoisie, is waging a most desperate campaign against socialism, and it is a rare day on which one fails to see in its columns the names of Marx, Bebel, Guesde and Jaurès, accompanied by the most vicious comment and vituperation. *Le Temps* cannot speak of socialism without trembling with rage.

The newspaper is following what well-intentioned Europeans call the Russian "crisis", with the utmost attention, and never fails to offer edifying counsel to *la nation amie et alliée*—the "friendly and allied nation". Thus on the present occasion, too, it devotes its leading article to the recent Zemstvo Congress. It recalls the preceding July Congress and cannot refrain even in retrospect from expressing its dissatisfaction. It was, you see, "a spectacle of utter incoherence of ideas and of complete incertitude of intention"; the Bulygin scheme was already known, but the delegates nevertheless confined themselves to "violent speeches", without being able to come to a decision on the question of boycott or participation. The organ of the French ruling bourgeoisie even reminds the Zemstvo delegates with irritation that they had no mandates!

On the contrary, what a smile of satisfaction has now come over the face of the bourgeois who is replete with political power! How graciously he hastens to shake the noble hand of his *confrère* who as yet is only craving for political power, but who is already revealing his "maturity"! The boycott has been rejected, and now nothing more is being said about the absence of mandates. "The decision of the Zemstvo delegates," says *Le Temps*, "does them credit . . . It shows that the political education of the most enlightened elements of the Russian people is progressing, and that they are abandoning vague plans of political prestidigitation, to enter boldly on the path of necessary evolution."

The bourgeois who is replete with political power and who has experience of what real victories of the people, the workers and peasants, lead to in revolutions, has no hesitation in declaring the September Congress of the liberal landlords and merchants a victory of evolution over revolution.

He praises the "moderation" of the Congress. He points with evident satisfaction to the rejection of the resolutions on "parcelling up the land" and on suffrage for women. "The wisdom and moderation of these decisions clearly indicate that the opinions of the extreme parties did not prevail at this Congress. The programme agreed on is sufficiently democratic to *disarm the revolutionaries*. Since the Zemstvo Congress expects to put its plans into effect solely by lawful means, its programme may also rally those reformists whom personal issues will not cut off from the rest of the Congress."

The replete bourgeois slaps the craving bourgeois encouragingly on the shoulder—to have advanced a programme "sufficiently democratic" to throw dust into people's eyes and *disarm the revolutionaries*, and have taken the path of legality, that is in plain and straightforward language to have come to terms with the Trepovs and Romanovs—that is true statesman-like wisdom.

That the hopes which the shrewd bourgeois places in simpleminded revolutionaries are not quite groundless has been proved by our wiseacres of the new *Iskra*. They have dropped the reins and dashed into a trap; they are eagerly proposing to exact democratic pledges from the moderate bourgeois, who are now prepared heart and soul to promise anything and to pledge themselves to anything. It is not only in struggle between hostile parties, but even in the struggle within the socialist parties (as we found from experience after the Second Congress) that all promises go by the board, once the more or less substantial interests of the contending parties are involved. As the English saying goes—promises like pie-crust are leaven to be broken.*

What did *Iskra's* tactics with regard to the Duma boil down to? To the ideological and tactical *disarmament of the revolutionaries*. The wiseacres of the opportunist *Iskra* worked for this disarmament by denouncing the idea of an active boycott, substituting (fully in the spirit of *Novoye Vremya*, and almost in the same terms) a passive boycott for an active, preaching confidence and trustfulness in the Milyukovs and Stakhoviches who now embrace each other, and *replacing* the revolutionary slogan of insurrection with *Osvobozhdeniye's* bourgeois twaddle, such as the "revolutionary self-government of citizens".

It is only the blind who can still fail to see what a swamp *Iskra* has floundered into. In the illegal press it is completely isolated, with only *Osvobozhdeniye* on its side. The Bund, which even Martov and Axelrod will not suspect of any liking for the "*Vperyod arsenal*", has come out resolutely for an active boycott. In the legal press all the scoundrels and all the moderate liberals have united against the radical bourgeois who have voiced sympathy with the boycott and are disposed towards the peasantry in a most friendly way.

Well, did Lenin tell any falsehood when, in analysing the new-*Iskra* resolutions, he said in his *Two Tactics* that "*Iskra*" is *descending to the level of the liberal landlords*, while *Proletary* is endeavouring to raise the level of the revolutionary peasants?

* This phrase is in English in the original.—Ed.

We have mentioned *Novoye Vremya*. Both that reptile of an organ and *Moskovskiy Vedomosti* are waging a desperate struggle against the idea of a boycott, thereby revealing to all and sundry the Duma's actual political significance. As a sample, here is a typical outburst by *Novoye Vremya*, which we shall dwell on the more readily as it is shedding new light on the abysmal bourgeois vileness displayed by even such a "respectable" liberal organ as *Russkiy Vedomosti*.

Mr. Yollos, its well-known Berlin correspondent, deals with the Jena Congress in No. 247. To begin with, his philistine soul rejoices at the fact that there has appeared such a kind-hearted and fair-minded bourgeois liberal, the wealthy Abbe, who has made to the city of Jena the gift of a People's House, in which all parties, including even the Social-Democrats, are free to meet. And Mr. Yollos draws the moral: "One can benefit the people outside definite party bounds too." That, of course, is true. But what are we to say of a writer, who, at a time of desperate party struggle in Russia, indulges in praise of non-partisanship? Doesn't Mr. Yollos really understand that this is a piece of the worst political tactlessness, since he is thereby playing into the hands of *Novoye Vremya*? The true meaning of this philistine delight in non-partisanship will, however, become apparent to the reader from the following statement by Mr. Yollos: "Needless to say there are political conditions under which it is useful for the time being to *keep ultimate aims to oneself*, and to bear in mind the immediate aims common to socialism and to liberalism."

Now that is frank! Thank you, Mr. Yollos, for at least being explicit! It remains for us, whenever addressing the workers, to make use of such declaration at all times and on all occasions to show up the *bourgeois* nature of Russian liberalism, and to make clear to the workers the need for an *independent* party of the proletariat, one that is undeviatingly hostile to the bourgeoisie, even the most liberal.

But all these tirades by our "democrat" are nothing compared with what is to come. Mr. Yollos does not confine himself to advising the proletariat "to keep its ultimate aims to itself for the time being", i.e., renounce socialism. No, he also advises renouncing the idea of bringing the present political revolution to its consummation. Mr. Yollos cites a speech by Bebel and plays up the passage in which Bebel expresses doubt as to whether we can succeed in transforming Russia into a civilised state "so soon", while at the same time declaring that the old autocratic regime will never return, and "the old Russia is no longer possible". Concerning this passage Mr. Yollos writes the following: "I do not consider Bebel an authority on Russian affairs, but I must observe that in this part of his speech he differs favourably from Kautsky and several other doctrinaires who recommend *Revolution in Permanenz* (uninterrupted revolution). As a clever man and politician who realises what concrete forms a state of uninterrupted anarchy assumes in the life of a nation, Bebel sees progress primarily in the promotion of cultural aims, and his words make it quite clear that he draws no line of demarcation and certainly erects no

barriers between the Russian intelligentsia and the Russian proletariat, at any rate before the elementary rights of man have been secured."

First of all this is a *libel on Bebel*, a libel fully in the style of *Novoye Vremya*. Bebel always and unequivocally draws a "line of demarcation" between bourgeois and proletarian democratism; Mr. Yolloos cannot be ignorant of that. Bebel distinguishes in no uncertain fashion between the bourgeois intelligentsia and the Social-Democratic intelligentsia. To assure the Russian reader that Bebel, while fighting for "culture", ever hushes up the mendacity and treachery of the bourgeois democrats on the one hand, and the socialist aims of the working class on the other, means slandering in the grossest manner the leader of revolutionary Social-Democracy in Germany.

Secondly, it does not at all follow from Bebel's speech that he regards the Russian revolution otherwise than Kautsky. The "favourable difference" in this respect between Bebel and Kautsky is a sheer fabrication by Mr. Yolloos, who has extracted and distorted a single passage in Bebel's speech, while maintaining silence about Bebel's numerous declarations fully in favour of the Russian revolution and its decisive victory.

Thirdly—and for us this is the most interesting feature of the stand taken by *Russkiye Vedomosti*—Mr. Yolloos's outburst shows that he is *afraid* of a decisive victory of the revolution in Russia. Mr. Yolloos says that "uninterrupted revolution" is "uninterrupted anarchy". To say that means saying that revolution is sedition; to say that means becoming a *traitor to the revolution*. And let not the *Osvobozhdeniye* diplomatists, who are so fond of asserting that they have no enemies on their left, try to tell us that this is only an accidental slip on the part of *Russkiye Vedomosti*. That is not true. It is an expression of the most profound sentiments and the most deep-rooted interests of the liberal landlord and the liberal manufacturer. It is the same thing as the statement made by Mr. Vinogradov, who is calling for a struggle to prevent the Russian revolution from entering on the path of 1789. It is the same as the servility of Mr. Trubetskoy, who told the tsar that he disapproved of sedition. This is no slip. It is the sole truthful statement in words on the countless disgraceful deeds of our bourgeois democrats, who are *wearied* of "uninterrupted anarchy", are beginning to long for *law and order*, are already *tired* of "fighting" (even though they never did any fighting), and *already recoil* from revolution at the mere sight of workers and peasants actually rising for actual battle, eager to strike blows, and not receive them. The bourgeois democrats are prepared to wink at the misdeeds of the Trepovs and the slaughter of unarmed people; they are not afraid of that, but of "anarchy" of a quite different kind, when power will no longer be wielded by Trepov or by Petrunkevich and Rodichev, and the uprising of the peasants and workers will be *victorious*. The bourgeois democrats rally to the Duma idea so eagerly for the very reason that they see in it an earnest of the betrayal of the revolution, an earnest of the prevention of the complete victory of the revolution—that terrible "uninterrupted anarchy".

Novoye Vremya provides evidence of the fact that our analysis of the

liberals' psychology is a faithful one. These dyed-in-the-wool lackeys of the Trepovs took immediate note of *Russkiye Vedomosti's* baseness and hastened to heartily embrace their *confrères*. It is precisely this lie of Mr. Yollos's about Bebel "differing favourably" from Kautsky that *Novoye Vremya* of September 13 (26) cites approvingly, remarking in its turn:

"Thus, our radical 'absentees' will have to exclude Bebel too from the number of their allies."

This is a perfectly legitimate conclusion. The professional *Novoye Vremya* traitors have correctly appraised the sum and substance of the "slip" made by *Russkiye Vedomosti*. Moreover, *Novoye Vremya*, that past master of politics, at once drew a conclusion *with regard to the Duma*. Although Mr. Yollos did not say a word about Bebel's views on the boycott, *Novoye Vremya* nevertheless labelled as "absentees" those in favour of the boycott. *Novoye Vremya* supplemented the libel against Bebel with a libel against the "radicals", expressing, however, the absolutely correct opinion that the "radical absentees" tactics are governed by the idea of the complete victory of the revolution, the idea of uninterrupted revolution, whereas the pro-Duma liberals are prompted by the fear of "uninterrupted anarchy". *Novoye Vremya* is right. Trepov's lackeys were fully justified in catching Mr. Yollos in the act and telling him: If you do not want "uninterrupted anarchy" then it follows that you are my ally, and no democratic bombast will dissuade me of this. Ours is a minor family quarrel — against the "doctrinaires", the supporters of "uninterrupted anarchy", however, we shall be at one!

Will *Iskra* fail to realise even now that in reproaching the boycott supporters with abstention, i.e., *absenteeism*, it was talking after the *Novoye Vremya* fashion? Can it fail to realise that this concurrence of its slogans with those of *Novoye Vremya* proves that there is something fundamentally false in its stand?

The replete European bourgeoisie lauds the moderation of the Russian bourgeoisie, which is craving for power. Trepov's lackeys laud Mr. Yollos of *Russkiye Vedomosti* for censuring the idea of "uninterrupted anarchy". The *Novoye Vremya* and new-*Iskra* gentry scoff at "absenteeism" . . .

Proletary, No. 20,
October 10 (September 27), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 9, pp. 316—326

An Estimate of Marx by International Liberalism

One of Turgenev's characters thus adapted a verse of the great German poet:

*Wer den Feind will versteh'n,
Muss im Feindes Lande geh'n*

that is, "To know your enemy you must go into the enemy's country" to get

first-hand knowledge of his customs, manners, ways of thinking and acting.

Marxists would do well to cast a glance at the comments made on the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Marx by influential political organs in various countries, especially the liberal and "democratic" bourgeois newspapers, which combine the possibility of influencing the masses of readers with the right to speak on behalf of official, titular professorial scholarship.

We shall begin our review with *Rusскиye Vedomosti*. This is the most sedate (and duller), the most scientific (and farthest removed from real life) of professorial newspapers. Its short article on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Karl Marx's death (No. 51, March 1) is written in a predominantly dry wooden tone—"objectivity", as it is called in the language of professors "ordinary" and "extraordinary". The writer of the article tries to confine himself to facts and trifling facts. As an impartial historian, he is prepared to give Marx his due—at least as far as the past is concerned, a past which is already dead and can be spoken of in a lifeless way. *Rusскиye Vedomosti* admits Marx to be a "remarkable figure", a "great man of science", an "outstanding leader of the proletariat", an organiser of the masses. But this recognition applies to the past: today, says the newspaper, "new paths are really necessary", i.e., new paths for the labour movement and socialism unlike the "old Marxism." What these new paths are, the paper does not say in so many words—that is too live a subject for professors and too "injudicious" a theme for virtuosi in the art of "tactful silence". But broad hints are dropped: "Many of his [Marx's] constructions have been destroyed by scientific analysis and the merciless critique of events. Among scientists there are practically no adherents faithful to his system as a whole; Marx's spiritual child—German Social-Democracy—has deviated a good deal from the revolutionary path which the founders of German socialism had mapped out." As you see, the writer leaves very little unsaid in his desire to rectify Marx in the revisionist way.

Another influential paper, *Rech*, the organ of a political party, which plays first fiddle in the concert of Russian liberalism, gives a much more lively appraisal of Marx. The tendency is, of course, the same as in *Rusскиye Vedomosti*, but whereas there we saw a preface to a fat volume, here we have political slogans that are the immediate guide for many a speech from the parliamentary rostrum, in dealing with all current events and topics of the day. The article "Karl Marx and Russia" (No. 53, March 2) is written by the notorious renegade Mr. Izgoev, a specimen of those Russian intellectuals, who between the ages of twenty-five and thirty "try to pose as Marxists", between thirty-five and forty play at being liberals, and after that end up as Black Hundreds.

Mr. Izgoev deserted the Social-Democrats for the liberals (as he himself has declared and as that arch-renegade Mr. Struve said of him) just when the revolution, after its first staggering successes, entered a difficult period of a long and hard struggle against the growing counter-revolution. Indeed, Mr. Izgoev is highly typical in this respect. He is splendid at making it clear *who*

stands to gain by professorial affectation in appraising Marx, and whose work this official "scholarship" is doing. "Marx the tactician of political intrigue," Izgoev thunders, "was a considerable hindrance to Marx the great scientist, and caused him to commit many mistakes." The chief mistake, of course, was that in addition to the correct, reasonable "evolutionary Marxism" accepted by the "majority" (the majority of philistines?) there was born a mischievous, unscientific, fantastic revolutionary Marxism, "adulterated by home-brewed Narodism". What our liberal especially resents is the role of *this* Marxism in the Russian revolution. Would you believe it—they go to the length of talking of a dictatorship of the proletariat to carry out this very same "bourgeois revolution", or even of a "dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry—which is absolutely fantastic in the mouth of Marxists". "No wonder that revolutionary Marxism in the form in which it was adopted in Russia by the Bolsheviks of all shades has completely failed." . . . "They are having to think of establishing an ordinary 'bourgeois' [the ironical quotation marks are Mr. Izgoev's] constitution."

There you have an ideologically ready-made and politically mature Octobrist, who is quite convinced that it is Marxism and revolutionary tactics that have failed, and not the Cadet tactics of compromise, betrayal, and treachery!

To proceed. From the Russian we shall pass to the German press, which operates in a free atmosphere, face to face with a legal socialist party, and which expresses its views in dozens of daily newspapers. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, one of the wealthiest, most widely read and most "democratic" bourgeois newspapers in Germany, devotes a big leading article to the twenty-fifth anniversary of Marx's death (No. 76, March 16, New Style, evening edition). The German "democrats at once take the bull by the horns. "One can understand the Social-Democratic press having honoured its teacher on this day in numerous articles," we are told. "But Marx has been recognised as a great man even in an influential national liberal paper, although with the usual reservations. Yes, of course, he was great, but he was a great corrupter."

This newspaper, representing the pick of that brand of Black-Hundred ideology known as European liberalism, explains that it does not in the least question Marx's personal honesty, but that his theories have caused incalculable harm. By introducing the conception of determinism and objective law in the sphere of social phenomena, by denying the significance of morality and the relative conditional nature of our knowledge, Marx founded an anti-scientific utopia and a real "Church" of his sectarian disciples. But his most harmful idea is—the *class* struggle. Herein lies all the evil! Marx treated seriously the old aphorism about *two nations*,* about the existence of two nations within every civilised nation—a nation of "exploiters" and a nation of "exploited" (the newspaper puts these unscientific terms in deadly ironical quotation marks). Marx forgot the clear, obvious truth that is plain to all healthy people, namely,

* These two words are given by Lenin in English.—Ed.

that in social life "the aim is not struggle but agreement". Marx "tore the nation asunder, for he hammered it into the heads of his people that there was nothing in common between them and the rest of the people, that they were deadly enemies".

"What could be more natural," the newspaper asks, "than that Social-Democracy, agreeing as it does with many of the bourgeoisie on a number of practical issues, should seek closer alignment with them? But that does not happen precisely because of Marxist theory. Social-Democracy has condemned itself to isolation. For a time it seemed as though a fundamental change was going to take place in this respect. It was when the revisionists began their campaign. But it turned out to be a mistake, and the difference between the revisionists and ourselves consisted, among other things, in that we understood this mistake while they did not. The revisionists believed, and still believe, that it is possible somehow to keep to Marx and yet become a different party. Vain hopes. Marx has either to be swallowed whole or completely rejected. A half-hearted course is of no use here."...

Quite right, gentlemen of the liberal fold! You do sometimes come out with the truth by accident.

"... So long as Social-Democracy honours Marx it will not be able to rid itself of the idea of the class struggle and of all those other things that make living with it so difficult... The scientific world is agreed that not one of the politico-economic theories of Marxism has been proved true."...

Well, well, gentlemen. You have admirably expressed the essence of bourgeois science, of bourgeois liberalism, and its entire policy. You have grasped the fact that Marx cannot be swallowed piecemeal. This is something that the Izgoevs and the Russian liberals have not yet understood. But even they will, before long.

And here, in conclusion, is *Journal des Débats*, the conservative organ of the bourgeois republic. In its issue of March 15, it writes, on the occasion of the anniversary, that the socialists, those "wild equalitarians", preach the cult of their great men, that the chief evil of the teachings of Marx, who "hated the bourgeoisie", is the theory of the struggle of *classes*. "He preached to the working classes not temporary conflicts alternating with periods of truce, but a holy war, a war of extermination, of expropriation, a war for the promised land of collectivism... a monstrous utopia."...

The bourgeois papers write well when stung to the quick. Life becomes a more cheerful thing when you see this growing ideological unity among the liberal enemies of the proletariat all over the world, for this unity is one of the guarantees of the unification of the millions of the international proletariat, which will win for itself its promised land, come what may.

Proletary, No. 25,
March (25) 12, 1908

Collected Works, Vol. 13, pp. 490—494

The Bourgeois Press Fable about the Expulsion of Gorky

For several days now the bourgeois newspapers of France (*L'Eclair*, *Le Radical*), Germany (*Berliner Tageblatt*) and Russia (*Utro Rossii*, *Rech*, *Russkoye Slovo*, *Novoye Vremya*) have been smacking their lips over a most sensational piece of news: the expulsion of Gorky from the Social-Democratic Party. *Vorwärts* has already published a refutation of this nonsensical report. The editorial board of *Proletary* has also sent a denial to several newspapers, but the bourgeois press ignores it and continues to boost the libel.

It is easy to see how it originated: some penny-a-liner overheard a whisper of the dissensions about otzovism and godbuilding (a question which has been discussed openly for almost a year in the Party in general and in *Proletary* in particular), made an unholy mess in weaving together his fragments of information and "earned a pretty penny" out of imaginary "interviews", etc.

The aim of this slanderous campaign is no less clear. The bourgeois parties *would like* Gorky to leave the Social-Democratic Party. The bourgeois newspapers are sparing no effort to fan the dissensions in the Social-Democratic Party and to give a distorted picture of them.

Their labour is in vain. Comrade Gorky by his great works of art has bound himself too closely to the workers' movement in Russia and throughout the world to reply with anything but contempt.

Proletary, No. 50,
November 28 (December 11), 1909

Collected Works, Vol. 16, p. 106

The International Policy of the Bourgeoisie

Government newspapers and liberal newspapers are full of news, rumours, speculations and calculations about "Balkan" policy. What a mess! Sensation follows upon sensation, each report is more spectacular than the last. Yesterday, it was said that war was about to break out between Austria and Montenegro, between Bulgaria and Serbia. Today there is a spate of denials of yesterday's news, and assurances that "peace has been secured".

Yesterday there were piquant stories about Essad pasha, his secret treaty with the King of Montenegro, and his insidious plans for seizing power in Albania. Today comes denial of these stories, and more piquant reports about agreements between Austria and Essad.

The man in the street, swallowing everything he is told, listens to these fables, taking them at their face value, and blindly following the swindlers

who try to divert "public" attention with exactly the kind of thing that serves their interest. The man in the street does not suspect that he is being led by the nose, and that the ringing phrases about "patriotism", "the country's honour and prestige" and "the Concert of Great Powers" are a deliberate attempt to cover up the machinations of financial swindlers and all sorts of capitalist adventurers. The sensational reports cooked up daily by the big bourgeois newspapers, whose occupation it is to sell the "latest" and the "most exciting" news at a profit, are designed specifically to *distract* the attention of the crowd from the really important questions and the real background of "high" politics.

The conservative newspapers in Europe, the Black-Hundred and Octobrist, and also non-party, papers in our own country, are playing this game crudely and in primitive fashion. In Russia, for example, they carry daily incitements against Austria, and depict Russia as the "protector" of the Slavs. The liberal press, like *Rech* and similar other papers, is carrying on *the very same game*, only in more subtle fashion, concealing it more skilfully, making its "digs" at Austria with greater caution, assuming the air of statesmen discussing the issues confronting the Concert of Europe.

In reality, all this quarrelling between Austria and Russia, between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, all these subtle approaches, are nothing but disputes between capitalist profiteers and capitalist governments over the division of the spoils. They are trying to drag the man in the street into the issue of how "we" can tear off a bigger slice, and how to let "them" have a smaller one; they are trying to get the man in the street to take an interest and show concern in the squabbling.

Nothing is being written or said about the number of skins to be taken off the backs of the peasant and the worker in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece to cover the expenses of war, or in Austria to cover the expenses of mobilisation, or in Russia for the same purpose and for her imperialist policy; or whether, and how, democratic institutions are to be ensured in the "new" states of the Balkans, or in Armenia, or in Mongolia. That is not news. The profits of the international sharks do not depend on that. Democratic institutions even tend to hamper "steady" profitmaking. Instead of *exposing* the policy of the Great Powers, the newspapers—both conservative and liberal—are engaged in discussing how *best* to help the sharks have their fill through this policy.

Written on April 26 (May 9), 1913
Published on May 4, 1913
in *Pravda* No. 101

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 228—229

British Socialist Party Conference

(Extract)

The British Socialist Party was founded in Manchester in 1911. It included the former Socialist Party, which had earlier been known as the Social Democratic Federation, and several isolated groups and individuals, among them Victor Grayson, a very fiery socialist but one not strong in principles and given to phrase-mongering.

The Second Conference of the British Socialist Party was held in the seaside town Blackpool from May 10 to May 12 (N.S.). Only 100 delegates were present, less than one third of the full number, and this circumstance, coupled with the bitter struggle of the majority of the delegates against the old party executive, produced a very bad impression on outside observers. The British bourgeois press (exactly like that of Russia) does its best to pick out, colour up and make a splash of episodes from any particularly acute struggle between the party and its executive.

The bourgeois press is not concerned with the *ideological* content of the struggle inside the socialist movement. All it needs is sensation, and a spicy bit of scandal . . .

Pravda No. 109, May 14, 1913
Signed: V.

Collected Works, Vol. 19, p. 93

Capitalism and the Press

When thieves fall out, honest men come by their own, to some extent. When bourgeois newspapermen quarrel they reveal to the public the venality of the "big dailies" and the tricks they are up to.

N. Snessarev of the *Novoye Vremya* quarreled with that newspaper, misappropriated some of its funds, and was dismissed after a scandal. He has now published a "book" of 135 pages entitled *The Mirage of "Novoye Vremya". As Good as a Novel*. St. Petersburg, 1914. Posing, as is the custom, as a "perfect gentleman", Mr. Snessarev describes the ethics which have long established themselves in the capitalist countries of the West, and which are penetrating more and more into the bourgeois press in Russia, where of course the soil is exceptionally favourable for the most sordid and disgusting forms of bribery, toadyism, etc., which are practised with impunity.

"Everybody has gradually become accustomed to live beyond his means," this *Novoye Vremya* man writes with a charming air of "injured innocence".

"When and how society will rid itself of this phenomenon, or whether it will rid itself of it at all, nobody can tell. But that such is the situation at the present time is a recognised fact." And one of the magic means by which one can live above one's income is to get bourgeois newspapers to "*participate*" in promoting concessions. "I could mention scores of different concessions," relates our *Novoye Vremya*-ist, "which owe their existence, not only to certain connections, but also to certain articles published in certain newspapers. *Novoye Vremya* is of course no exception." For example, one day, a representative of the London Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company called on Mr. Snessarev and invited him to draft the Articles of Association of a Russian Marconi Co. and a plan for a concession for that Company. "The remuneration for this work was fixed at 10,000 rubles, and an agreement was reached."

The "victimised" Snessarev relates that, not only did he sell himself to the capitalists for this sum, but that the whole newspaper *Novoye Vremya* sold itself to conduct "a campaign in favour of the concession", for which it received a 50 per cent rebate on telegrams, a "cushy job" as a founder of the Company, and a grant of 50,000 rubles' worth of shares.

London capitalist—fleecing the Russians—concessions from the Russian Government—press participation—wholesale corruption—anybody and everybody bought and sold for thousands of rubles—such is the truthful picture revealed by the disgruntled crook Snessarev.

Novoye Vremya, an enterprise with millions invested in it, was collapsing. The pampered sons of the renegade millionaire A. S. Suvorin were squandering and dissipating millions. This noble newspaper had to be saved. "P. L. Bark, Managing Director of the Volga-Kama Bank, appeared on the scene" (p. 85). He persuaded A.S. Suvorin to transfer the business to a company, whose Articles of Association had received *His Majesty's* approval in August 1911. Of the eight hundred shares (at 5,000 rubles per share), 650 went to A. S. Suvorin. In forming the Company they drew up a fictitious balance-sheet, Mr. Snessarev explains (p. 97), adding that "such a balance-sheet could have been accepted either by people totally ignorant of figures, or by people like Mr. Guchkov, that is to say, people who know their business perfectly, but pursue aims of their own". The heroes of this Company's inauguration (the inaugural meeting was held on November 10, 1911) were *Snessarev himself*, P. L. Bark, V. P. Burenin, Octobrist member of the Duma Shubinsky, the sons of that noble renegade A. S. Suvorin, and others.

As the reader sees, this highly respectable Company has been operating with great zeal since November 1911, but *since 1912*, the "victimised" Snessarev informs us, *Novoye Vremya* has been receiving a subsidy in the shape of the advertisements of the Land Banks ("not a very great income"—a mere 15,000 rubles per annum, or "something round about that" figure!). According to the law, these advertisements had to be given to the newspaper with the largest circulation. At that time *Novoye Vremya* did *not* have the largest circulation, but it "set in motion" ("for the first time", the noble Snessarev avows) its

backstairs influence and connections in government circles in order to retain these Land Bank advertisements. "The matter was discussed by the Council of Ministers and after rather serious hesitation it was decided to allow *Novoye Vremya* to retain the advertisements" (p. 21).

A literary and art society's club, "in plain words, a gambling-house" (p. 69) was formed; "in the club's debt book the members of the staff of *Novoye Vremya* had thousands of rubles against their accounts. These debts were simply written off".

In co-operation with Menshikov and others, the stockbroker Manus, who grew rich on the stock exchange and piled up a fortune of "several millions" (p. 120), launched a campaign in *Novoye Vremya* demanding Kokovtsov's resignation from the Cabinet. We leave it to our readers to figure out how many thousands each of these "public servants" received, and how much they have yet coming to them.

A whirligig of millions began: *Novoye Vremya* with a balance of five millions, of which about three millions are fictitious; salaries and fees of two and three thousand rubles *per month* to second-rate and third-rate members of the staff; hundreds of thousands and millions wasted; loans from banks amounting to hundreds of thousands; universal corruption; prostitution in all its forms, illegal and legal, sanctified by marriage; the cream of high St. Petersburg society; millionaires, Cabinet Ministers, stockbrokers and distinguished foreigners; gambling-houses; blackmail in different forms; "no political convictions" (p. 36); envy and intrigues; Amfiteatrov and Snessarev challenging an engineer to a duel for insulting the editors of *Novoye Vremya*, who had slung mud at the students; A. S. Suvorin, "who was very fond" of Amfiteatrov, but "could not deny himself the pleasure of annoying him", by letting through an article by Burenin containing a "nasty" dig at the actress Raiskaya, Amfiteatrov's wife; Burenin kicks Amfiteatrov out; Suvorin's scapegrace sons run up debts amounting to hundreds of thousands of rubles.

Novoye Vremya's loss in 1905—150,000 rubles.

Scared by 1905, Moscow merchants and manufacturers gave 100,000 rubles to found a patriotic newspaper for workers. At their request *Novoye Vremya* undertook to arrange the matter.

The newspaper "dragged out a miserable existence" for two years and then closed down. Moscovites lost 100,000 rubles, and the *Novoye Vremya* people 150,000 rubles (p. 61).

Thieves, male prostitutes, venal writers, venal newspapers. Such is our "big press". Such is the flower of our "high" society. "Everybody" knows these people; they have connections "everywhere" . . . The brazen insolence of feudalists embracing in the dark with the brazen corruption of the bourgeoisie—such is "Holy Russia".

Bourgeois Philanthropists and Revolutionary Social-Democracy

(Extract)

The Economist, a journal that speaks for the British millionaires, is pursuing a very instructive line in relation to the war. Representatives of advanced capital in the oldest and richest capitalist country, are shedding tears over the war and incessantly voicing a wish for peace. Those Social-Democrats who, together with the opportunists and Kautsky, think that a socialist programme consists in the propaganda of peace, will find proof of their error if they read *The Economist*. Their programme is not socialist, but bourgeois-pacifist. Dreams of peace, without propaganda of revolutionary action, express only a horror of war, but have nothing in common with socialism.

Moreover, *The Economist* stands for peace just because it is afraid of revolution. For instance its issue for February 13, 1915, contains the following passage:

"Philanthropists profess to hope that the peace settlement will bring with it a great international reduction of armies But those who know the forces which really control the diplomacy of Europe see no Utopias. The outlook is for bloody revolutions and fierce wars between labour and capital, or between the masses and the governing classes of Continental Europe"

In the issue of March 27, 1915, we again find expression of a desire for a peace that will guarantee freedom of nationalities, etc., as promised by Sir Edward Grey. If this hope is not realised, the paper says, the war "will end in revolutionary chaos, beginning no one can say where, and ending in no one can say what".

The British pacifist millionaires have a better understanding of present-day politics than the opportunists, the followers of Kautsky and similar socialist whimperers after peace. The bourgeois know, first, that phrases about a democratic peace are an idle and foolish Utopia while the old "forces . . . really control the diplomacy", i.e., until the class of capitalists has been expropriated. Secondly, the bourgeoisie have made a sober appraisal of the outlook, foreseeing "bloody revolutions" and "revolutionary chaos". To the bourgeoisie a socialist revolution always seems "revolutionary chaos".

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 41,
May 1, 1915

Collected Works, Vol. 21, pp. 192—193

The Revolution in Russia and the Tasks of the Workers of All Countries

(Extract)

And even the most faithful friends and patrons of Guchkov-Milyukov, even the most faithful watchdogs of Anglo-French predatory capital, the staff correspondent of the richest newspaper of the English capitalists, Robert Wilson of *The Times*, and the staff correspondent of the richest paper of the French capitalists, Charles Rivet of *Le Temps*, even they, while hurling curses at the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, have been obliged to admit that *there are two governments in Russia*. One—recognised by “everybody” (actually, by everybody among the *wealthy*), the landlord and capitalist government of the Guchkovs and the Milyukovs. The other—recognised by “nobody” (of the wealthy classes), the government of the workers and the peasants—the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies that is trying to establish Soviets of Workers' and Soviets of Peasants' Deputies *throughout Russia*.

Written on March 12 (25), 1917
First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Collected Works, Vol. 23, p. 352

A Partnership of Lies

(Extract)

A popular method always used by the bourgeois press in every country with unerring effect is to lie, scream, raise a hullabaloo, and keep on reiterating lies on the off-chance that “something may stick”.

“Lenin makes a great noise in the Kshesinskaya mansion,” writes *Rech*. “Lenin addresses a meeting from the roof of the Modern,” a number of newspapers report.

All this is untrue. Lenin was not present at the Modern meeting. Lenin made no noise at all; he delivered only *one* report to a gathering of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, and published a number of short articles in the small newspaper *Pravda*.

It is the capitalists and the capitalist press who are making a great noise, who are trying to *shout down* the truth, to prevent it from being heard, to drown it

in a torrent of invective and shouts to *prevent* an earnest *elucidation* of the facts.

This is what the efforts of the capitalists add up to at the present moment, as do also the efforts of those so-called socialists who, like Mr. Plekhanov, have completely deserted to the capitalist side.

In an editorial of special "national importance", today's *Rech* again fulminates against the "preaching of anarchy", and while doing so, most strikingly confutes itself. This is clear to anyone who ponders what he has read or heard.

"The great revolution has swept away all the old organisation of power . . ." This is not true. Not all of it, far from it. "It can be restored only by a change in the national psychology (in a broad sense of the word)—or rather, by the new psychology which recognises the need for authority and the duty of submission."

We have here a patent lie, a patent partnership of lies contracted by the capitalists, on the one hand, and the Plekhanovs, Cherevanus and Co., who are shouting about anarchy, on the other.

All we want is to *make clear* to the workers and to the poor peasants the errors of their tactics. We recognise the *Soviets* as the only possible authority. We advocate the need for authority and the duty of submitting to it.

Why, then, are you afraid? Why do you lie?

It is the truth that you fear. You lie in order to *prevent* this truth from *emerging*, prevent it by means of riot-mongering, slander, violence, and filth.

Even some of our opponents now see this. Read today's *Dyelo Naroda*, organ of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, an organ to which Minister Kerensky contributes.

This is what that organ says about Plekhanov, the most faithful ally of *Russkaya Volya* and *Rech*:

"We are accustomed to see such words and such a method of struggle in the columns of *Russkaya Volya*. But to see them employed in articles written by socialists is, frankly speaking, painful and depressing . . ."

Thus write our opponents.

Thus write democrats whose democratic conscience has been awakened.

It is hopeless trying to put the Milyukovs, Plekhanovs and Cherevanins to shame. But when even a newspaper to which Minister Kerensky is a contributor turns away in disgust from the madly chauvinistic, infamously slanderous, riot-mongering methods employed by Plekhanov, then we may safely say:

They are dead people, the heroes of such methods.

Written April 13 (26), 1917
Published April 14, 1917
in *Pravda* No. 32

Collected Works, Vol. 24, pp. 118—121

To the Soldiers and Sailors

Comrades, soldiers! Comrades, sailors!

The capitalist newspapers, from *Rech* down to *Russkaya Volya*, are carrying on a most shameless campaign of lies and slander concerning the passage through Germany of myself and thirty other emigrants.

The capitalist newspapers shamelessly lie when they assert or insinuate that we enjoyed certain inadmissible or unusual favours from the German Government, a government which we consider just as predatory, just as criminal as all the other capitalist governments who are carrying on the present war.

Rich men having "connections" with high-ranking officials of the tsarist monarchy, men like the liberal professor Kovalevsky, friend of Milyukov and Co., have been constantly negotiating with the German Government through the agency of the tsarist Russian Government with a view to arranging for an exchange of Russians captured by the Germans, and Germans captured by the Russians.

Why then should emigrants, who have been compelled to live abroad because of their struggle against the tsar, not have the right to arrange for an exchange of Russians for Germans *without* the government's aid?

Why has the government of Milyukov and Co. not admitted into Russia Fritz Platten, the Swiss socialist, who travelled with us and who had negotiated the agreement with the German Government concerning the exchange?

The government lies when it spreads rumours that Platten is a friend of the Germans. This is sheer slander. Platten is the friend of the workers and the enemy of the capitalists of *all* countries.

The capitalists lie when they circulate rumours that we are for a separate peace with the Germans, that we conferred or wanted to confer in Stockholm with those German socialists who sided with *their own* government.

This is a libellous lie. We did not participate and shall not participate in any conferences with such socialists. We look upon the socialists of all countries who are helping *their own* respective capitalists to carry on this criminal war as traitors to the cause of socialism.

Only those socialists are our friends who, like Karl Liebknecht, condemned to hard labour by the predatory German Government, rise against *their own* capitalists.

We do not want a separate peace with Germany, we want peace for *all* nations, we want the victory of the workers of *all* countries over the capitalists of *all* countries.

The Russian capitalists are lying about us and slandering us, just as the German capitalists are slandering Liebknecht. The capitalists lie when they say that we want discord and enmity between the workers and the soldiers.

It is not true! We want the workers and the soldiers to *unite*. We want to *make it clear* to the members of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies that it is *these* Soviets that must wield *full* state power.

The capitalists are slandering us. They have sunk so low in their shamelessness that not a single bourgeois newspaper has reprinted from *Izvestia* our report concerning our journey and the decision of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Every worker and every soldier knows *his* Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. It was to the Executive Committee of this Soviet that we made our report the day after our arrival. The report appeared in *Izvestia*. Why is it that *not a single* capitalist paper has reprinted this report?

Because these papers are spreading lies and slander and are afraid that our report to the Executive Committee will expose the deceivers.

Why is it that not a single paper has reprinted the *decision* of the Executive Committee concerning our report, a decision which was published in the same issue of *Izvestia*?

Because this decision nails the lies of the capitalists and their newspapers, in that it demands that the government take steps for the return of the emigrants.

Izvestia has published a protest against Trotsky's arrest by the English; it has published a letter by Zurabov exposing Milyukov's lies; it has also published a telegram from Martov on the same subject.

Soldiers and sailors! Do not believe the lies and slander of the capitalists! Expose the deceivers, who are trying to suppress the truth published in *Izvestia*!

Written between April 11 and 14
(24 and 27), 1917
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany IV*

Collected Works, Vol. 24, pp. 124–126

Against the Riot-Mongers

TO THE WORKERS, SOLDIERS, AND THE WHOLE POPULATION OF PETROGRAD

Citizens! The paper *Russkaya Volya*, founded by the tsars' Minister Protopopov and despised even by the Cadets, is carrying a riot-provoking campaign against our Party, against the paper *Pravda*, against our Comrades Lenin and Zinoviev, against the Petrograd Committee of our Party housed in the Kshesinskaya mansion. We have received a number of reports, written as well as oral, concerning threats of violence, bomb threats, etc.

From the very first days of the revolution, the capitalists, masking as "republicans", have been trying to sow enmity between the workers and the

soldiers. First they lied about the workers wanting to leave the army without bread. Now they are trying to inflame feeling against *Pravda*.

We appeal to the sense of honour of the revolutionary workers and soldiers of Petrograd, and declare:

We not only have not been guilty, directly or indirectly, of any threats of violence against individuals, but, on the contrary, we have always maintained that our task is to *explain* our views to all the people, that we regard the *Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies*, elected by all the workers and the soldiers, as *the only possible* revolutionary government.

On the very next day after their arrival the comrades, members of *different* parties, who passed through Germany, made a *report* to the trusted representatives of *all* the workers and soldiers, namely, to the *Executive Committee* of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. On this Executive Committee were Chkheidze, Tsereteli, Skobelev, Steklov, and others.

Comrades! These leaders of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies differ with us on many questions pertaining to the organisation of the state. They could be anything but biased in our favour.

Now what did the Executive Committee do?

In its *Izvestia* No. 32, for April 5, 1917, it *published* the *full* report dealing with the passage through Germany.

This report gives all the facts, and the *names* of the foreign socialists from two neutral countries, Switzerland and Sweden, who *checked* our protocols.

And what was the decision of the Executive Committee? Did it express condemnation or even disapproval of the fact that Lenin and others travelled through Germany?

It did not. This is how the editors of *Izvestia*, in the same issue, reported the resolution of the Executive Committee:

"Having heard the report of Comrades Zurabov and Zinoviev, the Executive Committee decided to take the matter up immediately with the Provisional Government and to take steps towards securing the immediate return to Russia of all emigrants, irrespective of their political views and their attitude towards the war. The results of the negotiations with the government will be published in the near future. — *Editors.*"

As anyone can see, *not* a single word is said here against Lenin and his comrades. What we have is a *warning* to the Provisional Government, a decision to *take steps* to prevent it from hindering return to Russia.

Following this, *Martov's* telegram and *Trotsky's* arrest in Britain have shown that Milyukov is either powerless against Britain and France, who keep their own internationalist socialists imprisoned, or that he *does not want* to take serious measures.

The Germans and Russians have made exchanges dozens of times throughout the war. Kovalevsky, member of the Council of State, was exchanged for an Austrian, etc. For wealthy people such exchanges have been arranged by the governments many a time. Then why doesn't the present

government want to arrange such an exchange for the emigrants? Because it wants to prevent a number of fighters from taking part in the revolutionary struggle.

What does *Russkaya Volya* do, and papers like *Rech* and *Yedinstvo* that follow in its footsteps?

They continue their hounding campaign, thereby inciting ignorant people to acts of violence against individuals. They *refuse to publish* either the report or the resolution of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has been given the names of various socialists who verified and approved every step taken by the emigrants in connection with their journey. They are the *French* socialists Lorient and Guilbeaux, the *Swiss* socialist Platten, the *Swedish* socialists Lindhagen (Mayor of Stockholm), Carlsson, Ström, Nerman, the *German* socialist Hartstein of *Karl Liebknechts'* group, the *Polish* socialist Broński.

By acting this way *Russkaya Volya*, *Rech* and *Yedinstvo* are aiding and abetting the dark forces which threaten violence, bombs, and riots.

Comrades, soldiers and workers!

We warn you against these gentlemen of *Russkaya Volya*, *Rech* and *Yedinstvo*, and declare over and over again that we stand for *explaining* to the whole nation the views of *all* the parties, we stand for *respecting* the Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies.

If the Provisional Government, if *Rech*, if Mr. Plekhanov are displeased with the way the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has acted, why do they not say so openly? Why do they not demand a re-examination of the case? Why are they afraid to reprint what was published in *Izvestia* No. 32? Why? Because they are out to sow discord!

If violence in any form is resorted to, we shall place the responsibility on the editors and contributors of *Russkaya Volya*, *Rech*, *Yedinstvo*, and others, who have dared to keep the report and the resolution of the Executive Committee out of the press, and to carry on an insidious propaganda.

The paper *Dyelo Naroda*, to which Minister A. F. Kerensky is an active contributor, has already pointed out that the methods used by these newspapers are helping the riot-mongers (*Dyelo Naroda* No. 23).

We want the Mil'yukovs, Amfiteatrovs, Plekhanovs and Co. to know that if their baiting leads to violence they will be the first to suffer the consequences.

Down with riot-mongering! Down with the heroes of baiting and deception, who suppress the resolution of the Executive Committee!

Comrades, soldiers and workers! You will not allow the people's freedom to be marred by riots! You will see to it that the decisions of *your* Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies are respected.

Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.
Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.

Written before April 14 (27), 1917
Published April 15, 1917
in *Pravda* No. 33

Collected Works, Vol. 24, pp. 127—130

How a Simple Question Can Be Confused

Commenting on the resolution of the Central Committee of April 20 concerning the necessity of transferring power to the revolutionary proletariat "*with the support of the majority of the people*", today's *Dyen* writes:

"Very simple, then what's the hitch? Instead of passing resolutions, come and take the power."

We have here a typical example of the methods used by the bourgeois press. People pretend not to understand the simplest thing, and ensure themselves—on paper—an easy victory. Anybody who says "take the power" should not have to think long to realise that an attempt to do so *without as yet* having the backing of the majority of the people would be adventurism or Blanquism (*Pravda* has made a special point of warning against this in the clearest, most unmistakable and unequivocal terms).

There is a degree of freedom now in Russia that enables the will of the majority to be gauged by the make-up of the Soviets. Therefore, to make a serious, not a Blanquist, bid for power, the proletarian party must *fight for influence* within the Soviets.

All this has been gone over and hammered out by *Pravda* again and again, and only stupidity or malice can fail to grasp it. Let the reader judge for himself to which of these two unenviable categories *Rabochaya Gazeta* belongs when it describes the "recommendation" (made to the Soviet) "to take power into its own hands" as "irresponsible provocation", as "demagoguery, devoid of all sense of political responsibility, light-heartedly urging democrats towards civil strife and war, and inciting the workers and soldiers not only against the government but against the Soviet itself" and so on.

Can one imagine a worse muddle than this, when the blame on the question of demagoguery is laid at the wrong door?

Prime Minister Lvov is reported by the evening paper *Birzheviye Vedomosti* for April 21 as having said literally the following:

"Up till now the Provisional Government has invariably met with the support of the Soviet's leading organ. During the last fortnight these relations have changed. The Provisional Government is suspect. Under the circumstances it is in no position to administer the state, as it is difficult to do anything in an atmosphere of distrust and discontent. Under such circumstances it would be best for the Provisional Government to resign. It is fully alive to its responsibility towards the country, in whose interests it is prepared to resign immediately if need be."

Is this not clear? Is it possible not to understand why, *after* such a speech, our Central Committee proposed that a public opinion poll be held?

What have "civil war", "provocation", "demagoguery" and similar frighten-

ing words to do with it, when the Prime Minister himself declares the government's readiness "to resign" and recognises the Soviet as the "leading organ"?

One or the other: either *Rabochaya Gazeta* believes that in making such statements Lvov is misleading the people, in which case it should not urge confidence in and support of the government, but *no confidence and no support*; or *Rabochaya Gazeta* believes that Lvov is really "prepared to resign", in which case, why all this outcry about civil war?

If *Rabochaya Gazeta* understands the situation correctly, understands that the *capitalists* are raising a hullabaloo about civil war in order to cover up *their* desire to flout the will of the majority by means of force, then why this outcry on the part of the newspaper?

Lvov is entitled to ask the Soviet to approve and accept his policy. Our Party is entitled to ask the Soviet to approve and accept our, proletarian, policy. To speak of "provocation" and so on is to reveal an utter lack of understanding of what it is all about or to sink to base demagoguery. We are entitled to fight for influence and for a majority in the Soviet and the Soviets, and we are going to fight for them. We repeat:

"We shall favour the transfer of power to the proletarians and semi-proletarians only when the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies adopt our policy and are willing to take the power into their own hands."

Written April 22 (May 5), 1917
Published May 6 (April 23), 1917
in *Pravda* No. 39

Collected Works, Vol. 24, pp. 217—219

Already the "New" Government Is Lagging Behind Even the Peasant Mass, Leave Alone the Revolutionary Workers

Here is the evidence:

The evening edition of *Russkaya Volya** (Russian Freedom indeed!) for May 4 has this to report about the feeling prevailing among the delegates to the Peasant Congress, which is now in session:

"The delegates' main grievance, voiced on behalf of the peasants, is that while all classes are already reaping the fruits of the revolution the peasants alone are still waiting for their share. The peasants alone are told to wait until the Constituent Assembly meets and settles the land question.

"We don't agree," they say. "We're not going to wait, just as others have not waited. We want the land now, at once."

There is no doubt that the reporter of *Russkaya Volya*, a paper that serves the worst of the capitalists, is not slandering the peasants in this case

* *Russkaya Volya* means Russian Freedom.—Ed.

(there is no sense in lying), but is telling the truth, is *warning* the capitalists. All the news coming from the Congress confirms this truth.

Compare this truth with § 5 of the "new" government's draft declaration: "While leaving it to the Constituent Assembly to settle the question of transferring the land to the working people, the Provisional Government will take . . . measures," etc. (the "old" Provisional Government also kept on "taking measures" . . .).

The "new" government is already lagging hopelessly behind even the Peasant Congress!

This is a fact, surprising though it may be to many.

And facts are stubborn things, as the English say.

Pravda No. 50,
May 19 (6), 1917

Collected Works, Vol. 24, pp. 365—366

Foul Slander by Ultra-Reactionary Newspapers and Alexinsky

Today's issue of *Zhivoye Slovo*, an obviously Black Hundred type of paper, carries low, foul slander against Lenin.

Pravda cannot appear because its premises were wrecked by military cadets on the night of July 4-5. This accounts for the delay in publishing a detailed refutation of the foul slander.

For the time being we declare that the *Zhivoye Slovo* report is *slander* and that on the night of July 4-5 *Chkheidze rang up all the big papers*, asking them not to publish slanderous, riot-raising articles. The big papers complied with Chkheidze's request, and on July 5 none of them published the *infamous slander*, with the exception of the filthy *Zhivoye Slovo*.

Alexinsky is so well known as a slanderer that he *has not been admitted* to the Executive Committee of the Soviet until he rehabilitates himself, i.e., until he *redeems his honour*.

Citizens! Don't believe those foul slanderers, Alexinsky and *Zhivoye Slovo*.

Zhivoye Slovo's slander is evident at a glance from the following: the paper writes that on *May 16* a letter (No. 3719) accusing Lenin was sent to Kerensky from the General Staff. Obviously, Kerensky would have been duty bound to have Lenin arrested immediately and to order a *government investigation*, had he for a single moment believed those accusations or suspicions to be serious.

Written July 5 (18), 1917
Published in *Listok "Pravdy"*,
July 19 (6), 1917

Collected Works, Vol. 25, p. 160

Dreyfusiad

A combination of the old and the new—this has always been the case with methods of exploitation and repression used by tsarism. It has not changed in republican Russia. The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie flavour their political baiting of the Bolsheviks, the party of the international revolutionary proletariat, with the foulest slander and “campaigning” in the press that is quite like the campaign of the French clerical and monarchist papers in the Dreyfus case.

The watchword at that time was that Dreyfus must be indicted for espionage at all costs! Today the watchword is that some Bolshevik or other must be indicted for espionage at all costs! The foulest slander, garbling, crude lies and artful tricks to confuse the reader—all these devices are being used by the yellow press and the bourgeois press generally with great zeal. The net result is a wild, furious uproar in which it is sometimes impossible to make out articulate words, let alone arguments.

Here are some of the methods used in our modern, republican Dreyfusiad. First they trotted out three main “arguments”: Yermolenko, Kozlovsky’s twenty million, and the implication of Parvus.

Next day *Zhivoye Slovo*, the chief riot-instigating paper, published two “corrections” admitting that the “leader” of the Bolsheviks had not been bribed but was a fanatic, and changing the twenty million to twenty thousand. Meanwhile another paper declared Yermolenko’s testimony to be of secondary importance.

In *Listok “Pravdy”* of July 6, we showed the complete absurdity of Yermolenko’s testimony. Obviously, it had become inconvenient to refer to it.

In the same issue of *Listok* there is a letter from Kozlovsky denying the slander. Following the denial 20,000,000 is reduced to 20,000—a “round” figure again instead of an exact one.

They implicate Parvus, trying hard to establish some sort of connection between him and the Bolsheviks. In reality it was the Bolsheviks who in the Geneva *Sotsial-Democrat* called Parvus a renegade, denounced him ruthlessly as a German Plekhanov, and once and for all eliminated all possibility of close relations with social-chauvinists like him. It was the Bolsheviks who at a meeting held in Stockholm jointly with the Swedish Left Socialists categorically refused to admit Parvus in any capacity, even as a guest, let alone speak to him.

Hanecki was engaged in business as an employee of the firm in which Parvus was a partner. Commercial and financial correspondence was censored, of course, and is quite open to examination. An effort is being made to mix these commercial affairs with politics, although no proof whatsoever is being furnished!!

They have gone to the ridiculous extreme of blaming *Pravda* for the fact

that its dispatches to the socialist papers of Sweden and all other countries (dispatches which, of course, had to pass the censor and are fully known to him) were reprinted by German papers, often with distortions! As if reprinting, or malicious distortions, can be blamed on the original source!

It is a veritable Dreyfusiad, a campaign of lies and slander stemming from fierce political hatred. How foul the sources must be to substitute slander for the clash of ideas!

Written July 6-7 (19-20), 1917
First published in *Lenin
Miscellany IV*, 1925

Collected Works, Vol. 25, pp. 166—167

Extraordinary Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Cossacks' and Red Army Deputies

November 6—9, 1918

SPEECH ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

November 8

(Extract)

The West-European press, the press of Anglo-French imperialism, tries its hardest to keep silent about the state of imperialism. No lie or slander is vile enough to use against the Soviet government. It is true to say now that all the Anglo-French and American papers, with financial backing running into billions, are in capitalist hands and that they act in one syndicate to suppress the truth about Soviet Russia, to spread lies and slander about us. Yet despite the fact that for years there has been a military censorship which has prevented a word of truth about the Soviet Republic from appearing in the newspapers of the democratic countries, not a single large workers' meeting held anywhere goes by without the workers siding with the Bolsheviks, because it is impossible to hide the truth. The enemy accuses us of implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are right and we do not hide it. The fact that the Soviet Government is not afraid and openly admits this attracts more millions of workers to its side, because the dictatorship is directed against the exploiters, and the working people see and are convinced that the struggle we are waging against the exploiters is a serious one and will be brought to a serious conclusion. Although the European papers surround us with a conspiracy of silence, they have so far announced that they regard it their duty to attack Russia because Russia surrendered to Germany, because Russia is in fact a German agent,

because government leaders in Russia, they claim, are German agents. New forged documents, for which a good price is paid, appear every month proving that Lenin and Trotsky are downright traitors and German agents. Despite all this they cannot hide the truth, and from time to time there are open signs that the imperialist gentlemen feel uneasy. *L'Echo de Paris* admits: "We are going into Russia to break the power of the Bolsheviks." Their official line is that they are only fighting German domination, not conducting a war with Russia and not interfering in military matters. Our French internationalists who publish the *III-me Internationale* in Moscow cited this quotation, and although we have been cut off from Paris and France by an extremely elaborate Great Wall of China, we tell the French imperialist gentlemen that they cannot defend themselves from their own bourgeoisie. Indeed, hundreds of thousands of French workers know this small quotation, and others too, and see that all the declarations of their rulers, of their bourgeoisie, are nothing but lies. Their own bourgeoisie let the cat out of the bag; they acknowledge that they want to break the power of the Bolsheviks. After four years of bloody war they have to tell their people: go and fight again against Russia to break the power of the Bolsheviks whom we hate because they owe us 17 thousand million and won't pay up, because they are rude to capitalists, landowners and tsars. Civilised nations who come down to admitting such things, patently betray the failure of their policy. No matter how strong they may be militarily we calmly review their strength and say: but you have in your rear an even more terrible enemy—the common people, whom you have deceived up to now; so much so that your tongue has dried up from the lies and slander you have spread about Soviet Russia. Similar information may be gleaned from *The Manchester Guardian* of October 23. This British bourgeois newspaper writes: "If the Allied armies still remain in Russia and still operate in Russia, their purpose can only be to effect a revolution in . . . Russia. The Allied governments must, therefore, either . . . put an end to their operations in Russia or announce that they are at war with Bolshevism."

I repeat that the significance of this small quotation, which sounds to us like a revolutionary call, like a powerful revolutionary appeal, is that it is written by a bourgeois newspaper, which is itself an enemy of the socialists, but feels that the truth can no longer be hidden. If bourgeois papers write in this vein you can imagine what the British workers must be thinking and saying. You know the sort of language used by the liberals in tsarist times, prior to the 1905 and 1917 revolutions. You know this language heralded an impending explosion amidst the revolutionary proletariat. From the language of these British bourgeois liberals, therefore, you can draw conclusions about what is going on in the moods, minds and hearts of the British, French and American workers. We must, therefore, face the bitter truth about our international position. The world revolution is not far off, but it cannot develop according to a special time-table. Having survived two revolutions we well appreciate this. We know, however, that although the imperialists cannot

contain the world revolution, certain countries are likely to be defeated, and even heavier losses are possible. They know that Russia is in the birth-pangs of a proletarian revolution, but they are mistaken if they think that by crushing one center of the revolution they will crush the revolution in other countries.

Newspaper reports published in *Izvestia* No. 244, November 9, 1918, and in *Pravda* No. 243, November 10, 1918

First published in full in 1919 in the book *Extraordinary Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets. Verbatim Report*, Moscow

Collected Works, Vol. 28, pp. 161–163

Letter to Sylvia Pankhurst

TO COMRADE SYLVIA PANKHURST, LONDON

(Extract)

August 28, 1919

P.S.—The following cutting from the Russian press will give you an example of our information about Britain:

“London, 25.8 (via Beloostrov). The London correspondent of the Copenhagen paper *Berlingske Tidende* wires on August 3rd concerning the Bolshevik movement in Britain: ‘The strikes which have occurred in the last few days and the recent revelations have shaken the confidence of the British in the immunity of their country to Bolshevism. At present the press is vigorously discussing this question, and the government is making every effort to establish that a “conspiracy” has existed for quite a long time and has had for its aim neither more nor less than the overthrow of the existing system. The British police have arrested a revolutionary bureau which, according to the press, had both money and arms at its disposal. *The Times* publishes the contents of certain documents found on the arrested men. They contain a complete revolutionary programme, according to which the entire bourgeoisie are to be disarmed; arms and ammunition are to be obtained for Soviets of Workers’ and Red Army Deputies and a Red Army formed; all government posts are to be filled by workers. Furthermore, it was planned to set up a revolutionary tribunal for political criminals and persons guilty of cruelly treating prisoners. All foodstuffs were to be confiscated. Parliament and other organs of public government were to be dissolved and revolutionary Soviets created in their place. The working day was to be lowered to six hours and the minimum weekly wage raised to £7. All state and other debts were to be annulled. All banks, industrial and commercial enterprises and means of transport were to be declared nationalised.’”

If this is true, then I must offer the British imperialists and capitalists, in the shape of their organ, the richest newspaper in the world, *The Times*,

my respectful gratitude and thanks for their excellent propaganda in behalf of Bolshevism. Carry on in the same spirit, gentlemen of *The Times*, you are splendidly leading Britain to the victory of Bolshevism!

Published in September 1919

Collected Works, Vol. 29, p. 566

Speech at a Meeting of the Moscow Soviet in Celebration of the First Anniversary of the Third International

March 6, 1920

(Extract)

Look at the way our ugly words, such as "Bolshevism", for example, are spreading throughout the world. Despite the fact that we call ourselves the Communist Party, and that the name "Communist" is a scientific, European term, it is not as widespread in European and other countries as the word "Bolshevik" is. Our Russian word "Soviet" is one of the most widely used; it is not even translated into other languages, but is pronounced everywhere in Russian.

Despite the lies in the bourgeois press, despite the furious resistance offered by the entire bourgeoisie, the sympathies of the masses of the workers are on the side of the Soviets, Soviet power and Bolshevism. The more the bourgeoisie lied the more they helped to spread throughout the world what we had experienced with Kerensky.

On their arrival from Germany, some of the Bolsheviks were met here with attacks and persecutions, organised in the "democratic republic" in real American style. Kerensky, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks did their best to assist this witch-hunt. In this way they stirred up sections of the proletariat and made them think that there must be something good about the Bolsheviks if they are subjected to such persecution.

And when you get fragmentary information from abroad from time to time, when—being unable to follow the entire press—you read, for example, Britain's richest newspaper, *The Times*, and find it quoting Bolshevik statements to prove that during the war the Bolsheviks were preaching civil war, you draw the conclusion that even the cleverest representatives of the bourgeoisie have completely lost their heads. This British newspaper directs attention to the book *Against the Stream*, recommends it to British readers and gives quotations to show that the Bolsheviks are the very worst of people, who speak of the

criminal character of the imperialist war and preach civil war; it convinces you that the entire bourgeoisie, while they hate us, are helping us—and we bow to them and thank them.

We have no daily press either in Europe or in America; information about our work is very meagre, and our comrades are suffering the most severe persecution. But when you see that the very wealthy Allied imperialist press, from which hundreds of thousands of other newspapers draw their information, has lost its sense of proportion to such a degree that in its desire to injure the Bolsheviks it prints numerous quotations from the writings of Bolsheviks, digging them up from war-time publications in order to prove that we spoke of the criminal character of the war and worked to transform it into a civil war, it shows that these very clever gentlemen will become as stupid as our Kerensky and his comrades were. We can therefore vouch for it that these people, the leaders of British imperialism, will make a clean and enduring job of helping the communist revolution.

Communist International
No. 10, 1920
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 30, pp. 418–420

To the State Publishing House and to Y. A. Preobrazhensky and N. I. Bukharin

A vast amount of material, *particularly on the foreign policy* of the Entente, is published *every week* in our newspapers and in foreign ones (not only communist, but also *bourgeois* papers of *various* countries).

This material (see also the *Bulletin* of the People's Commissariat for *Foreign Affairs*) is lost for international communist agitation; yet it is extremely valuable.

I suggest that a committee be set up to summarise this material and publish *monthly* booklets.

The content: the *facts* of the foreign policy of the Entente (plunder; wars; insurrections; *financial* strangulation).

The number of copies: as small as possible, since the main aim is translation into *other languages*.

A subcommittee of a few professors should (under strict control) collect *all* that is valuable, *particularly from the bourgeois newspapers* (which best of *all expose* their "rivals").

A committee of *Party* comrades will read the professors' manuscripts to correct them, and *make the professors* do that.

Newspapers get lost; booklets will remain, *and will help the foreign comrades.*
Your opinion, please.
August 8, 1920

Lenin

First published in 1924
in the journal
Kniga o Knigakh No. 3

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 527

Speech Delivered at the All-Russia Congress of Transport Workers

March 27, 1921

(Extract)

You must have noticed that these extracts from the whiteguard newspapers published abroad appeared side by side with extracts from British and French newspapers. They are one chorus, one orchestra. It is true that such orchestras are not conducted by a man with a score. International capital uses less conspicuous means than a conductor's baton, but that it is one orchestra should be clear from any one of these extracts. They have admitted that if the slogan becomes "Soviet power without the Bolsheviks" they will all accept it.

Pravda Nos. 67 and 68,
March 29 and 30, 1921

Collected Works, Vol. 32, p. 280

Section VI

THE OPPORTUNIST PRESS

Preface to the Russian Translation of "Letters by Johannes Becker, Joseph Dietzgen, Frederick Engels, Karl Marx, and Others to Friedrich Sorge and Others"

(Extracts)

While complaining about the German Social-Democrats' compromises with the Lassalleans and Dühring (letter of October 19, 1877), Marx also condemns the compromise "with a whole gang of half-mature students and superwise diploma'd doctors [in German "doctor" is an academic degree corresponding to our "candidate" or "university graduate, class I"], who want to give socialism a 'higher, idealistic' orientation, that is to say, to replace its materialistic basis (which demands serious objective study from anyone who tries to use it) by modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Dr. Höchberg, who publishes the *Zukunft*, is a representative of this tendency, and has 'bought his way' into the Party—with the 'noblest' intentions, I assume, but I do not give a damn for 'intentions'. Anything more miserable than his programme of the *Zukunft* has seldom seen the light of day with more 'modest presumption'." (Letter No. 70.)

In another letter, written almost two years later (September 19, 1879), Marx rebutted the gossip that Engels and he stood behind *J. Most*, and gave Sorge a detailed account of his attitude towards the opportunists in the German Social-Democratic Party. *Zukunft* was run by Höchberg, Schramm and Eduard Bernstein. Marx and Engels *refused* to have anything to do with such a publication, and when the question was raised of establishing a new Party organ with the participation of this same Höchberg and with his financial assistance, Marx and Engels first demanded the acceptance of their nominee, Hirsch, as editor-in-

-chief, to exercise control over this "mixture of doctors, students and *Kathedersocialists*" and then addressed a circular letter directly to Bebel, Liebknecht and other leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, warning them that they would openly combat "such a vulgarisation [*Verluderung*—an even stronger word in German] of Party and theory", if the Höchberg, Schramm and Bernstein trend did not change.

This was the period in the German Social-Democratic Party which Mehring described in his *History* as "A Year of Confusion" ("*Ein Jahr der Verwirrung*"). After the Anti-Socialist Law, the Party did not at once find the right path, first swinging over to the anarchism of Most and the opportunism of Höchberg and Co. "These people," Marx wrote of the latter, "nonentities in theory and useless in practice, want to draw the teeth of socialism (which they have fixed up in accordance with the university recipes) and particularly of the Social-Democratic Party, to enlighten the workers or, as they put it, to imbue them with 'elements of education' from their confused half-knowledge, and above all to make the Party respectable in the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie. They are just wretched counter-revolutionary windbags."

The result of Marx's "furious" attack was that the opportunists retreated and—made themselves scarce. In a letter dated November 19, 1879, Marx announced that Höchberg had been removed from the editorial committee and that all the influential leaders of the Party—Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke, etc.—had repudiated his ideas. *Der Sozial-demokrat*, the Social-Democratic Party organ, began to appear under the editorship of Vollmar, who at that time belonged to the revolutionary wing of the Party. A year later (November 5, 1880), Marx related that he and Engels constantly fought the "miserable" way in which *Der Sozial-demokrat* was being conducted, and often expressed their opinion sharply ("*wobei's oft scharf hergeht*"). Liebknecht visited Marx in 1880 and promised that there would be an "improvement" in all respects.

Written on April 6 (19), 1907
Published in 1907 in the book *Letters by Johannes Becker, Joseph Dietzgen, Frederick Engels, Karl Marx, and Others to Friedrich Sorge and Others*.
Published by P. G. Dauge, St. Petersburg
Signed: N. Lenin

Collected Works, Vol. 12, pp. 365—367

Two Worlds

(Extract)

The opportunist phrases about positive work mean in many cases working *for the liberals*, in general working for others, who hold the reins of power, who set the course of the given state, society, community. And Bebel drew this conclusion frankly, declaring that "in our Party there are no few National Liberals of this kind, pursuing a National-Liberal policy". As an example he mentioned *Bloch*, the well-known editor of the so-called (*so-called* is Bebel's word) *Socialist Monthly* (*Sozialistische Monatshefte*). "National Liberals have no place in our Party," declared Bebel outright, to the general approval of the Congress.

Look at the list of contributors to the *Socialist Monthly*. You will find there *all* the representatives of international opportunism. They cannot find praise high enough for the behaviour of our liquidators. Are there not two worlds of ideas here when the leader of the German Social-Democrats calls the editor of this journal a National Liberal?

Opportunists throughout the world favour the policy of a bloc with the liberals, now openly and outrightly proclaiming and implementing it, now advocating or justifying election agreements with the liberals, support of their slogans, etc. Bebel has time and again exposed the sheer falsity, the sheer mendacity of this policy, and we can say without exaggeration that every Social-Democrat should know and remember his words.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 18,
November 16 (29), 1910

Collected Works, Vol. 16, pp. 308

To Maxim Gorky

(Extract)

The Germans have an exemplary journal of the opportunists: *Sozialistische Monatshefte*. There gentlemen like Schippel and Bernstein have long been attacking the international policy of the revolutionary Social-Democrats by raising an outcry that this policy resembles the "lamentations of compassionate" people. That, brother, is a trick of opportunist swindlers. Ask for this journal to be sent to you from Naples and have their articles translated if you are in-

terested in international politics. You probably have such opportunists in Italy too, only there are no Marxists in Italy, that's what makes her so nasty.

Sent from Paris to San Remo (Italy)
First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 34, p. 439

From the Camp of the Stolypin "Labour" Party

DEDICATED TO OUR "CONCILIATORS" AND ADVOCATES OF "AGREEMENT"

Comrade K.'s letter deserves the profound attention of all to whom our Party is dear. A better exposure of *Golos* policy (and of *Golos* diplomacy), a better refutation of the views and hopes of our "conciliators" and advocates of "agreement" it is hard to imagine.

Is the case cited by Comrade K. an exception? No, it is *typical* of the advocates of a Stolypin labour party, for we know very well that a *number* of writers in *Nasha Zarya*, *Dyelo Zhizni*, etc., have *already* been systematically preaching *these very* liquidationist ideas *for many a year*. These liquidators do not often meet worker members of the Party; the Party very rarely receives such exact information of their disgraceful utterances as that for which we have to thank Comrade K.; but, *always and everywhere*, the preaching of the *group* of independent legalists is conducted precisely in this spirit. It is impossible to doubt this when periodicals of the *Nasha Zarya* and *Dyelo Zhizni* type exist. It is to the advantage of only the most cowardly and most despicable defenders of the liquidators to keep silent about this.

Compare this fact with the methods employed by people like Trotsky, who shout about "agreement" and about their hostility to the liquidators. We know these methods only too well; these people shout at the top of their voices that they are "neither Bolsheviks nor Mensheviks, but revolutionary Social-Democrats"; they zealously vow and swear that they are foes of liquidationism and staunch defenders of the illegal R.S.D.L.P.; they *vociferously abuse those who expose the liquidators, the Potresovs*; they say that the anti-liquidators are "exaggerating" the issue; but *do not say a word* against the definite liquidators, Potresov, Martov, Levitsky, Dan, Larin, and so on.

The real purpose of such methods is obvious. They use *phrase-mongering* to shield the *real* liquidators and do everything to *hamper* the work of the anti-liquidators. This was exactly the policy pursued by *Rabocheye Dyelo*, so notorious in the history of the R.S.D.L.P. for its unprincipled character; it vowed and swore, "We are not Economists, not at all, we are wholly in

favour of political struggle"; but in reality it provided a *screen* for *Rabochaya Mysl* and the Economists, directing its whole struggle against those who exposed and refuted the Economists.

Hence it is clear that Trotsky and the "Trotskyites and conciliators" like him are more pernicious than any liquidator; the convinced liquidators state their views bluntly, and it is easy for the workers to detect where they are wrong, whereas the Trotskys *deceive* the workers, *cover up* the evil, and make it impossible to expose the evil and to remedy it. Whoever supports Trotsky's puny group supports a policy of lying and of deceiving the workers, a policy of shielding the liquidators. Full freedom of action for Potresov and Co. in Russia, and the shielding of their deeds by "revolutionary" phrase-mongering abroad—there you have the essence of the policy of "Trotskyism".

Hence it is clear, furthermore, that any "agreement" with the *Golos* group that evades the question of the liquidators' centre in Russia, that is, the leading lights of *Nasha Zarya* and *Dyelo Zhizni*, would be nothing but a continuation of this deception of the workers, this covering up of the evil. Since the Plenary Meeting of January 1910 the *Golos* supporters have made it abundantly clear that they are capable of "subscribing" to any resolution, not allowing any resolution "to hamper the freedom" of their liquidationist activities one iota. Abroad they subscribe to resolutions saying that any disparagement of the importance of the illegal Party is evidence of bourgeois influence among the proletariat, while in Russia they assist the Potresovs, Larins, and Levitskys, who, far from taking part in illegal work, scoff at it and try to destroy the illegal Party.

At present Trotsky, together with Bundists like Mr. Lieber (an extreme liquidator, who publicly defended Mr. Potresov in his lectures and who now, in order to hush up the fact, is stirring up squabbles and conflicts), together with Letts like Schwartz, and so on, is concocting just such an "agreement" with the *Golos* group. Let nobody be deceived on this score: their agreement will be an agreement to shield the liquidators.

P.S. These lines were already set up when reports appeared in the press of an "agreement" between the *Golos* group and Trotsky, the Bundist and the Lett liquidator. Our words have been fully borne out: this is an agreement *to shield* the liquidators in Russia, an agreement between the servants of the Potresovs.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 23,
September 14 (1), 1911

Collected Works, Vol. 17, pp. 242—244

To the Bureau of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. in Russia

April 16, 1912

Dear Friends,

For God's sake give us more contacts. Contacts, contacts, contacts, that's what we haven't got. Without this everything is unstable. Remember that two have already left the scene, there are no replacements for them. Without contacts everything will fall to pieces after one or two further arrests. You must without fail set up regional committees (or simply groups of trusted *agents*), *linked up* with us, for every region. Without this everything is shaky. As regards publication, you should press on with reprinting the *entire* resolution about the elections, to make it *everywhere* available in *full* and among the masses.

As regards the money, it is time to stop being naïve about the Germans. Trotsky is now in full command there, and carrying on a *furious* struggle. You must send us a mandate to take the matter to the courts, otherwise we shall get nothing. We have already sent the May Day leaflet everywhere. I advise you to publish the appeal to the peasants about the elections as a leaflet (from *Rabochaya Gazeta*: the peasantry and the elections.) Make sure of republishing the long article from *Rabochaya Gazeta*. This is an essential supplement to the platform, in which a very important paragraph about socialism has been omitted. Write! Contacts, contacts. Greetings.

P.S. *Vorwärts* is printing the most brazen lies, as, for example, that all Russia has already declared in favour of the Bundist-Lettish conference. It's Trotsky and Co. who are writing, and the Germans believe them. Altogether Trotsky is boss in *Vorwärts*. The foreign department is controlled by Hilferding, Trotsky's friend.

Sent from Paris
Published for the first time in the Fourth
(Russian) Edition of the *Collected Works*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 34–35

The Liquidators and "Unity"

The seventh issue of *Nevsky Golos*, which appeared a few days ago, can only be described as hysterical. Instead of a labour chronicle nearly two pages of it contain choice abuse against *Pravda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda*. Curiously enough, this abuse is offered under the slogan of "unity" of the working class, of "unity" in the election campaign.

Gentlemen—we shall reply to the liquidators—unity of the working class is a great principle. But, really, you make yourselves ridiculous if, while shout-

ing about “unity”, you try to impose on the working class the platform and the candidates of a group of liberal liquidationist intellectuals.

Pravda has proved by means of *accurate* figures that “liquidationism is nothing in the working-class movement, and that it is strong only among the liberal intelligentsia” (*Pravda* No. 80, August 1, 1912). *Nevsky Golos* No. 7, of August 17, now reviles those articles of *Pravda*, calling them “feuilleton-like”, “Khlestakovian”, and so on. And yet it does not even try to question the simple fact that in the course of six months *Pravda* drew 504 contributions from groups of workers, while the liquidationist papers drew only 15.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from this but that all the shouting and noise and abuse and clamour about unity are merely intended to cover up the extreme and total impotence of the liquidators within the working class?

No matter how much *Nevsky Golos* may abuse us, we shall calmly point out the incontrovertible facts to the workers. Look at the collections listed in *Nevsky Golos* No. 7, and at those made in July and August “to replenish the funds of the newspaper” (i.e., in plain language, to restore the liquidationist paper suspended for lack of support from the mass of the workers). The report on those collections lists 52 contributions totalling 827.11 rubles. Of these, only two were group collections: one by “*the Moscow initiating group*”, amounting to 35 rubles, and the other by a “*group of friends in Paris*”—8.54 rubles. Of the remaining 50 individual contributions, 35 added up to 708 rubles, i.e., *over 20 rubles per contribution on the average*.

Nevsky Golos may fume and abuse—the facts will be no less true for that. It is common knowledge that the “initiating groups” are groups of liquidators who have *broken away from the working-class party*. Even Plekhanov admitted this openly and plainly as long ago as April 1912.

A group of break-away liquidators has resumed—with the donations of bourgeois liberal intellectuals—the publication of its newspaper to fight the working-class press! And yet this group is shouting about “unity”. Now how can anyone help laughing at that?

Pravda No. 99, August 24, 1912

Collected Works, Vol. 18, pp. 290–291

Dead Liquidationism and the Living “Rech”

The first issue of the liquidators’ newspaper *Zhivaya Zhizn** carried an article by L. M. entitled “On an Old Theme”. We will leave until another occasion the little tricks the enthusiastic author got up to in his haste to “grab by the coat-tails” the Kautsky who argued with Rosa Luxemburg. L. M. copies the

* Literally, “Living Life”.—Ed.

worn-out method of the liberals—that of exaggerating *this sort of* dispute and depicting it as important in principle by maintaining a *complete silence* on the position of the German opportunists (reformists)!

Mr. L. M. likes holding Kautsky by the coat-tails, but when speaking of “German Social-Democratic literature” he prefers not to mention—out of modesty, no doubt—the extensive and, indeed, fundamentally important literature put out by reformists related in type to L. M. and *Zhivaya Zhizn*.

I repeat, this will be dealt with another time.

L. M. drags the Germans into Russian affairs by the hair, as the saying goes. The first issue of *Zhivaya Zhizn* informs us of these affairs through the lips of L. M.:

... without a struggle for freedom of association “Russian workers cannot get out of the intolerable situation that dooms them to run like squirrels in a cage, to spend tremendous effort in periodical mass actions of one and the same kind that are rewarded neither by organisational growth nor a strengthening of the political positions gained”. The efforts of the advanced proletarians (writes L. M., outlining the *ideas* of advanced *liberals*) should be directed toward “making the working class capable of giving battle and winning victories, not only in one-day strikes but also in all other possible fields”

These words contain the essence of the “theory” of the liquidators of the working-class party. “Running like a squirrel in a cage”—those words will become famous. They should be repeated in every issue of *Zhivaya Zhizn*, they should become the motto of its whole trend. This is the “slogan” of the liquidators!

In his wisdom, L. M. probably regards making petitions as “other fields” and not “running like a squirrel in a cage”? Then say so straight out, don’t be ashamed, gentlemen!

And here you have the real *live* newspaper *Rech*—live because it advocates not the dead doctrine of the liquidators but living class interests (the interests of the bourgeoisie, of course, and not the proletariat). Compare the passages from *Zhivaya Zhizn* of July 11 quoted above with the leading article in *Rech* of July 6.

The *Rech* leading article declares that the working-class movement in 1905 was “national, but in 1913 is a class movement” and with ecstatic enthusiasm repeats the attacks made by the liquidators on the “strike craze”, repeats the statement made by the liquidators that “the workers can and must struggle for freedom of speech, assembly and association by other more complicated [really?] political means and not by strikes alone”.

It stands to reason that the liberals, like L. M., maintain a modest silence on precisely what “complicated” means they have in mind. The liberals, on the other hand, say straight out that with the introduction of freedom of associaton and so on, it will be possible, they are convinced, “to conduct a *serious struggle* against the chaotic, casual strikes that disorganise industry” (the same *Rech* leading article).

We shall permit ourselves only one remark—everybody has now recognised the fact of a new wave of strikes, even purely economic strikes. There is nothing more ridiculous and pitiful than to speak of them as “casual”.

The class position of the liberals is clear. Any worker will immediately understand their position, will immediately discern the interests of the bourgeoisie in the vague phrases about “complicated” methods. The living *Rech* expresses the interests of the bourgeoisie. Dead liquidationism in *Zhivaya Zhizn* is helplessly limping along behind the liberals and is unable to say anything clear and straightforward about “other fields” and can only get angry and churn out abuse of the “running like squirrels in a cage” variety

A noteworthy and at the same time shameful slogan that the liquidators have descended to!

Rabochaya Pravda No. 10,
July 24, 1913
Signed: P. Osipov

Collected Works, Vol. 19, pp. 235—237

Coteries Abroad and Russian Liquidators

Issue No. 86 of *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* contains a scurrilous article against Social-Democrats that deserves attention *in spite of* its abusive character and *in spite of* the insinuations of which everybody is sick and tired.

This article is entitled “The German Social-Democratic Press on the Split”. It deserves attention because it very clearly explains to Russian workers something they have not known up to now, and which they *ought to know*.

They *ought to know* what intrigues the coteries of Russian Social-Democrats abroad are hatching *against* the Social-Democratic organisation in Russia, for ignorance of these intrigues constantly and inevitably condemns many Russian Social-Democrats to making comic and tragi-comic mistakes.

The liquidators’ article commences with italics: “*Not a single* voice has so far been heard in the ranks of the German Social-Democrats” in favour of a split (by “split”, the liquidators mean the *building* of a Marxist organisation *in opposition to* the liquidators).

Note the italics in the first sentence of the article: “*Not a single* voice”!

The worn-out trick of the bourgeois hack-writer—not everybody reads a newspaper through to the end, but everybody sees the *first* striking words of an article

Read the liquidators’ article further. It quotes the opinion of a Frankfurt newspaper, which is, of course, *in favour of* the liquidators, but it says nothing about the fact that this newspaper is an opportunist one!

My dear liquidators! Do you think the Russian workers are fools who do

not know that there are opportunists among the German Social-Democrats, and that the *Socialist (alleged) Monthly*, the chief organ of the German opportunists, constantly supports *Nasha Zarya*?

We read further. The opinion of a Dresden newspaper. It condemns the split in general. Neither the newspaper's sympathies in Russian affairs, nor its position on German affairs is indicated. The liquidators do not want to enlighten the Russian workers, but to fool them by leaving a number of things unsaid.

We read further. The Leipzig organ of the Social-Democrats

"a fortnight ago published a report from Russia describing the situation in tones rather favourable to the schismatics".

This is literally what is published in the liquidator newspaper; and, of course, not a word in italics.

And, of course, not a word, not a syllable, not a sound on *the substance* of that "unpleasant" report! Oh, we are past masters in the art of petty trickery and miserable intrigue!

On the one hand, we have italics: "*Not a single voice*"; and on the other hand, the *only* report from Russia turns out to be written "in tones rather favourable" to the opponents of the liquidators.

We read further:

"The issue [of the Leipzig Social-Democratic newspaper] of November 15 contains a long *editorial* [liquidators' italics!] article" . . .

from which *only* the passages that favour the liquidators are quoted.

Russian workers! It is high time you learned to expose the liquidators' lies.

The liquidators print the word "editorial" in italics. This is a *lie*. The article is signed with the initials J. K., i.e., it is *not* an editorial article, but an article by an individual contributor!

The liquidators are deceiving the Russian workers in the most brazen and insolent manner.

This is not all. The liquidators *concealed* the fact that in this very same report the *seven* are called "*shameless splitters*" for admitting Jagiello to the Duma group, in opposition to the will of the Polish Social-Democrats!

And this is still not all. The liquidators *concealed* a fact which is obvious to every politically-informed person. The article signed J. K. was written by one of *Tyszk'a*'s supporters. All the evidence goes to prove this. *Tyszk'a*'s supporters are the group of Rosa Luxemburg, *Tyszk'a* & Co. in Berlin, those who circulated a most abominable rumour about the presence of provocateurs in the Warsaw Social-Democratic organisation. Even *Luch* (true, this was *after* Jagiello had been smuggled into the Duma group!) admitted that this was abominable. Even *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* has admitted more than once that "*Tyszk'a & Co.*" do not represent the Polish Social-Democratic

workers of Warsaw in fighting against the *workers' insurance centre*, to which the Bund, the Lefts and the Polish Social-Democrats (of Warsaw, and not Tyszka & Co., of course) are affiliated.

And now, in order to fool the Russian workers, the liquidators clutch at the coat-tails of the Tyszka crowd. A drowning man clutches at a straw (even at a filthy and rotten one).

The article of the Tyszka supporter, J. K., like all the pronouncements of that group, throbs with but one desire: to hatch an intrigue around the split, to make "a little political capital" out of it. Pretending that coteries "divorced" from the working-class movement in Russia are viable political organisations, hatching intrigues around this, uttering sentimental phrases *instead of* studying events in Russia—such is the nature of "Tyszka-ism", and it is what nine-tenths of the separate and "independent" coteries abroad are engaged in.

They seem now to be reviving in the hope of being able to "play on" the split between the six and the seven

Vain hope! Russian worker Social-Democrats have matured sufficiently to be able *themselves* to decide the fate of their organisation by a majority vote, and contemptuously to brush aside the intrigues of the coteries abroad. Members of these coteries very often write in the German Social-Democratic press expressing the point of view of these coteries; but it is not at all difficult to recognise this crowd "by their ears".

Za Pravdu No. 46,
November 28, 1913

Collected Works, Vol. 19, pp. 508—510

To David Wijnkoop

(Extract)

Cracow, January 12, 1914

Dear Comrade Wijnkoop,

Thank you most cordially for your kind letter. I hope you have read in the German Social-Democratic papers (*Vorwärts* and *Leipziger Volkszeitung*) the articles of our opponents (for example, J. K. of the Rosa Luxemburg group, and Z. L., who represents *no* group in Russia, in *Leipziger Volkszeitung*). The German Social-Democratic press is boycotting us, particularly *Vorwärts*, and only *Leipziger Volkszeitung* has printed *one* article from us (signed by the editorial board of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Central Organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party).

In *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* Radek writes about Russian affairs. Yet Radek also represents *no* group whatever in Russia! It is ridiculous to print articles by

emigrants who represent nothing, and not accept articles from the representatives of organisations which exist in Russia!

And the attitude of Kautsky—can anything be more idiotic? In relation to all other countries he studies the history of the movement, criticises documents, tries to understand the *true sense* of the differences, the political significance of splits. In relation to Russia, history does not exist for him. Today he repeats what he has heard from Rosa Luxemburg, yesterday he repeated what he had heard from Trotsky, Ryazanov and other writers who only represent their own “pious wishes”, tomorrow he will begin to repeat what other Russian students or emigrants are kind enough to tell him, and so on. While in *Neue Zeit* (!!) only commonplaces, declamations, no facts, no understanding of the essence of the questions on which we differ!! Pure childishness!!

We are being lectured on unity with the liquidators of our Party—an absurdity. It is we who are bringing unity into being, by rallying the workers of Russia *against* the liquidators of our Party. I attach a document which we circulated to members of the International Socialist Bureau. You will find there *facts and figures* which prove that we are the ones who represent the unity of the Party (and the vast majority of the workers) in Russia *against* groups of liquidators who are without workers.

Unfortunately even Pannekoek in *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* refuses to understand that you have to print the articles of the two wings of Social-Democracy in Russia, and not the articles of Radek who represents only his own personal ignorance and fantasy, and who *does not wish* to provide *precise facts*.

Written in French
Sent to Amsterdam
First published in *Pravda* No. 21,
January 21, 1934

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 133–134

What Should Not Be Copied from the German Labour Movement

(Extract)

At the International Congress in Stuttgart, half the German delegation turned out to be sham socialists of this type, who voted for the ultra-opportunist resolution on the colonial question.

Take the German magazine *Sozialistische* (??) *Monatshefte* and you will always find in it utterances by men like Legien, which are thoroughly opportunist, and have *nothing* in common with socialism, utterances touching on *all* the vital issues of the labour movement.

The "official" explanation of the "official" German party is that "nobody reads" *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, that it has no influence, etc.; but that is *not true*. The Stuttgart "incident" proved that it is not true. The most prominent and responsible people, members of parliament and trade union leaders who write for *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, constantly and undeviatingly propagate their views among the masses.

The "official optimism" of the German party has long been noted in its own camp by those people who earned Legien's appellation of "these editors"—an appellation contemptuous from the point of view of the bourgeois and honourable from the point of view of a socialist. And the more often the liberals and the liquidators in Russia (including Trotsky, of course) attempt to *transplant* this amiable characteristic *to our soil*, the more determinedly must they be resisted.

German Social-Democracy has many great services to its credit. Thanks to Marx's struggle against all the Höchbergs, Dührings, and Co., it possesses a strictly formulated theory, which our Narodniks vainly try to evade or touch up along opportunist lines. It has a mass organisation, newspapers, trade unions, political associations—that same mass organisation which is so definitely building up in our country in the shape of the victories the *Pravda* Marxists are winning everywhere—in Duma elections, in the daily press, in Insurance Board elections, and in the trade unions. The attempts of our liquidators, whom the workers have "removed from office", to evade the question of the growth of this mass organisation in Russia in a form adapted to Russian conditions are as vain as those of the Narodniks, and imply a similar intellectualist *breakaway* from the working-class movement.

But the merits of German Social-Democracy are merits, not because of shameful speeches like those delivered by Legien or the "utterances" (in the press) by the contributors to *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, but *despite* them. We must not try to play down the *disease* which the German party is undoubtedly suffering from, and which reveals itself in phenomena of this kind; nor must we play it down with "officially optimistic" phrases. We must lay it bare to the Russian workers, so that we may learn from the experience of the older movement, learn what should not be copied from it.

Prosveshcheniye No. 4, April 1914
Signed: V. I.

Collected Works, Vol. 20, pp. 256—258

A Fool's Haste is No Speed

A recent issue of *Der Kampf*, the Austrian Social-Democratic monthly, contained a sensational paragraph signed F. A., stating that Eduard Bernstein, leader of the German opportunist, had renounced his revisionist, opportunist views and returned to Marxism.

Revisionism—revision of Marxism—is today one of the chief manifestations, if not the chief, of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and bourgeois corruption of the workers. That is why Eduard Bernstein, the opportunist leader, has won such world-wide notoriety.

And now we are told that Bernstein has returned to Marxism. This piece of news should seem strange to anyone at all familiar with German Social-Democratic literature. *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, the principal organ of the opportunists, is still published and continues to preach purely bourgeois views which, in effect, amount to a complete betrayal of socialism. And Bernstein continues to be a leading contributor to the journal. What can the matter be?

It appears that Bernstein gave a lecture in Budapest in which, according to a local paper, he renounced revisionism.

F. A., the Austrian author, has proved exceedingly gullible and imprudent in hastening to proclaim to the world that Bernstein has revised his views. But the liquidator V. Levitsky, one of the leading opportunist contributors to the opportunist journal *Nasha Zarya* (the Menshevik Plekhanov has dubbed it the Russian "Socialist Monthly") has proved more imprudent still: in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (April 3, No. 46) he published a lengthy article under the resonant title of "From Revisionism to Marxism", based *wholly* on F. A.'s report.

Mr. Levitsky did not even wait for Bernstein's lecture to appear in the press. A fool's haste is no speed.

On learning what world-wide "fame" his Budapest lecture had won, Bernstein wrote a letter to the Brussels Social-Democratic paper *Le Peuple* on April 11 (new style) in which he bluntly declared: "The report in *Der Kampf* is absolutely without foundation. I said nothing new in Budapest and did not recant any of the views expressed in *Premises of Socialism* [Bernstein's chief opportunist work]. The report of my lecture in the Budapest paper simply confused my words with the remarks of the reporter!"

The whole affair proved an ordinary newspaper hoax.

It did, however, reveal the deplorable proneness of some Austrian (only Austrian?) Social-Democrats to *disguise* opportunism and proclaim its disappearance.

Excessive zeal has carried Mr. Levitsky to preposterous lengths. He writes in *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*: "With the reversion [?] to Marxism of the father [?] of revisionism, Bernstein, revisionism within the German Social-Democratic movement has been killed for good [! ?]."

Every word here is a gem: there has been no reversion, Bernstein is no father, revisionism has not been killed.

"In Russia," the zealous Mr. Levitsky writes, "revisionism has ceased to be a modish doctrine even among the Left Narodniks, who at one time were inclined to fall back on it in their fight against Marxism. Within the Russian Social-Democratic movement revisionism had no influence whatever, despite the attempts of some writers to transplant it to Russian soil."

Every word here is an untruth. On *all* major issues the Left Narodniks even now "fall back on" the revisionist "doctrines". That is proved by every issue of *Russkoye Bogatstvo* and *Zavety*, by every issue of *Stoikaya Mysl*. Glossing over the opportunism of the Left Narodniks can only cause harm.

There has been some revisionist *influence* within Russian Social-Democracy *since the very beginning* of the mass working-class and mass Social-Democratic movement in 1895-96. Does Mr. Levitsky mean to say he has not heard of the struggle which consistent Marxists and adherents of the old *Iskra* waged for many years against the Economists? Does he mean to say he has not heard of the Party resolutions and the numerous articles written during that period, affirming, proving and explaining that Economism was the Russian form of revisionism and opportunism? Does Mr. Levitsky mean to say he has forgotten about Mr. A. Martynov, a leading liquidator of today, and a leading Economist of yesterday?

Mr. Levitsky denies revisionism in order to disguise *his own* revisionism. We would remind him only of the four following facts: 1) Was it not the Menshevik Plekhanov who declared in the press in 1909-10 that the Mensheviks had absorbed into their ranks quite a number of opportunist elements? 2) Was it not the same Plekhanov who demonstrated the opportunist nature of the liquidationist "fight-for-legality" slogan? 3) Was it not *several* anti-liquidationist Mensheviks who demonstrated the *connection* between liquidationism and Economism? 4) Is it not opportunism to renounce, as Koltsov does, "two pillars (out of the three) as unsuitable for agitation?"

These four facts alone—and forty-four more could be cited—are clear proof that the Economism of 1895-1902, the Menshevism of 1903-08 and the liquidationism of 1908-14, all represent the Russian form or species of opportunism and revisionism, no more and no less.

Prosveshcheniye No. 5, May 1914
Signed: V. I.

Collected Works, Vol. 20, pp. 322—324

How the Police and the Reactionaries Protect the Unity of German Social-Democracy

In its issue of January 9, the German Social-Democratic *Gothaer Volksblatt* published an article entitled, "Police Protection for the Policy of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary Group".

"The first two days of the operation of the censorship," says the paper, which has been placed under the gratifying guardianship of the military authorities, "show with full clarity that the central authorities are particularly anxious to gag the undesirable critics of the policy of the Social-Democratic group

within our own ranks. The censorship is designed to preserve 'party peace' within the ranks of the Social-Democrats, in other words, to preserve a 'united', 'cemented' and powerful German Social-Democratic Party. Social-Democracy under governmental tutelage—such is the most important event in the internal policies of our 'great' time, of the era of the rebirth of the German nation.

"Several weeks have passed since the politicians who make up our Social-Democratic parliamentary group began an energetic propaganda campaign of their views. They have come up against strong opposition in several very large party centres. Their propaganda has put the workers in a frame of mind unfavourable rather than favourable to those who vote for war credits, which is why the military authorities have sought to help the latter now by means of the censorship, now by abolishing freedom of assembly. With us in Gotha, this help is coming from the military censor, in Hamburg, from the ban on meetings."

In quoting these words, the Swiss Social-Democratic paper, which is published in Berne, adds that a number of Social-Democratic papers in Germany have been placed under censorship, and continues with the comment: "very soon there will be nothing to disturb the unanimity of the German press. If anybody attempts to affect it, the military dictatorship will firmly and rapidly put an end to that, acting on information supplied directly or indirectly by 'Social-Democrats' that stand for party peace."

The opportunist Social-Democratic papers do indeed, directly or indirectly, pass on information about the radical press!

Consequently, the facts go to show that we were perfectly right in writing in No. 36 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*: "The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution . . . In times of crisis they *immediately* prove to be open allies of the *entire* united bourgeoisie." As a slogan of the Social-Democratic Party, unity today means unity with the opportunists and submission to them (or to their bloc with the bourgeoisie). This is a slogan which *in actual fact* aids the police and the reactionaries, and is disastrous to the labour movement.

We might, incidentally, mention the appearance of a splendid pamphlet by Borchardt (in German) entitled *Vor und nach dem 4. August 1914*, with the sub-title, *Hat die deutsche Sozialdemokratie abgedankt?* Indeed, it has repudiated itself, says the author, revealing the glaring contrast between party declarations prior to August 4 and the policies of "August 4". We shall stop at no sacrifice in the war against war, the Social-Democrats of Germany (and other countries) said prior to August 4, 1914, whereas, on September 28, 1914, Otto Braun, member of the Central Committee, made reference to the 20 millions of marks invested in legal papers, and their 11,000 employees. The tens of thousands of leaders, officials and privileged workers, who have been demoralised by legalism, have disorganised the million-strong army of the Social-Democratic proletariat.

The lesson to be derived is as clear as clear can be: a decisive break with chauvinism and opportunism. Yet, vapid Social-Revolutionary babblers (J. Gar-

denin and Co.) have, in the vapid *Paris Mysl*, repudiated Marxism, in favour of petty-bourgeois ideas! Forgotten are the elementary truths provided by political economy, and the world-wide development of capitalism, which produces only one revolutionary class—the proletariat. Forgotten are Chartism, June 1848, the Paris Commune, and October and December, 1905. The workers can advance towards their world-wide revolution only through a series of defeats and errors, failures and weaknesses, but they are advancing towards it. One must be blind not to see bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence on the proletariat as the main and fundamental cause of the International's disgrace and collapse in 1914. However, windbags like Gardenin and Co. would apply a remedy to socialism by completely repudiating its only socio-historical foundation—the class struggle of the proletariat—and by diluting Marxism with philistine and intellectualist-Narodnik verbiage. The call is not for strenuous work towards a rupture between the proletarian revolutionary movement and opportunism, but for unification of this movement with the opportunists of the Ropshin and Chernov type, who were bomb-throwing liberals the day before yesterday, renegades in the toga of liberals yesterday, and today delight in saccharine bourgeois phrases about the “labour” principle! The Gardenins are no better than the Südekums and the Socialist-Revolutionaries no better than the liquidators. This is why they all meet so lovingly in *Sovremennik*, a journal that advocates a programme of a merger between the Social-Democrats and the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 39,
March 3, 1915

Collected Works, Vol. 21, pp. 129–131

The Tasks of the Opposition in France

LETTER TO COMRADE SAFAROV

February 10, 1916

Dear Comrade,

I was forcefully reminded of the burning question of the situation and the tasks of the opposition in France by your deportation from that country, reported, by the way, with a protest even by the chauvinist paper, *La Bataille*, which, however, did not care to tell the truth, namely, that you were deported for sympathising with the opposition.

I saw Bourderon and Merrheim in Zimmerwald. I heard their reports and read about their work in the newspapers. I cannot in the least doubt their sincerity and devotion to the cause of the proletariat. Nevertheless, it is obvious that their tactics are mistaken. Both fear a split more than anything else. The

slogan of both Bourderon and Merrheim is not a step, not a word that might lead to a split in the Socialist Party or in the trade unions in France, that might lead to a split in the Second International, to the creation of the Third International.

Nevertheless, the split in the labour and socialist movements throughout the world is a fact. We have two irreconcilable working-class tactics and policies in respect of the war. It is ridiculous to close your eyes to this fact. Any attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable will make all our work futile. In Germany, even Deputy Otto Rühle, a comrade of Liebknecht's, has openly admitted that a split in the party is inevitable, because its present majority, the official "leaders" of the German party, have gone over to the bourgeoisie. The arguments advanced against Rühle and against a split by the so-called representatives of the "Centre" or "marsh" (*le marais*), by Kautsky and *Vorwärts*, are nothing but lies and hypocrisy, however "well-intentioned" such hypocrisy may be. Kautsky and *Vorwärts* cannot deny, and do not even attempt to deny, that the majority of the German party is in fact carrying out the policy of the *bourgeoisie*. Unity with such a majority is doing harm to the working class. It means subordinating the working class to the bourgeoisie of its "own" nation; it means a split in the international working class. Actually Rühle is quite right; there are *two parties* in Germany. One, the official party, is carrying out the policy of the bourgeoisie. The other, the minority, is publishing illegal leaflets, organising demonstrations, etc. We see the same thing all over the world, and the impotent diplomats, or the "marsh", such as Kautsky in Germany, Longuet in France, and Martov and Trotsky in Russia, are doing the labour movement great harm by their insistence upon a *fictional* unity, thereby *hindering* the now imminent unification of the *opposition* in all countries and the creation of the Third International. In Britain even a moderate paper like the *Labour Leader* publishes Russel Williams' letters urging the necessity for a *split* with the trade union "leaders" and with the Labour Party, which, he says, has sold out the interests of the working class. A number of members of the Independent Labour Party have declared in the press that they sympathise with Russel Williams. In Russia, even Trotsky, the "conciliator", is now compelled to admit that a split is inevitable with the "patriots", i.e., the party of the Organising Committee, the O.C., who approve of workers' participating in the war industries committees. It is only false pride that compels Trotsky to continue to defend "unity" with Chkheidze's Duma group, which is the best friend, shield and protector of the "patriots" and the O.C.

Even in the United States of America there is actually a complete split. Some socialists in that country want an army, and "preparedness", and war. Others, including Eugene Debs, the most popular leader of the workers and the Socialist Party's presidential candidate, want civil war against the war of nations!

Look at what Bourderon and Merrheim are doing! They say they are opposed to a split. But read the resolution which Bourderon moved at the

Congress of the French Socialist Party. It demands the withdrawal of the socialists from the Cabinet!! The resolution bluntly "disapproves" of the C.A.P. and the G.P. (C.A.P.=Com. Adm. Perm., G.P.=Groupe Parlem.*)!!! It is as clear as daylight that the adoption of such a resolution would cause a split in both the Socialist Party *and* the trade unions, because Messrs. Renaudel, Sembat, Jouhaux and Co. would never accept that.

Bourderon and Merrheim share the error, the weakness and the timidity of the *majority* of the Zimmerwald Conference. On the one hand, this majority *indirectly* calls for *revolutionary* struggle in its Manifesto, but is afraid to do so openly. On the one hand, it declares that the capitalists of *all* countries are *lying* when they talk about "defence of the fatherland" in the present war. On the other hand, the majority was afraid to add the obvious truth which, in any case, every thinking worker will add for himself, that not only are the capitalists *lying*, but so also are Renaudel, Sembat, Longuet, Hyndman, Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co.! Once again the majority of the Zimmerwald Conference *wants* to make peace with Vandervelde, Huysmans, Renaudel and Co. This is *harmful* to the working class, and the Zimmerwald Left did the right thing in *openly* telling the workers the truth.

Look at the hypocrisy of *les socialistes-chauvins*: in France they praise the *German minorité*, in Germany, the *French*!!

What enormous significance there would be in the action of the French opposition if it straightforwardly, fearlessly, openly told the world: We are in agreement *only* with the *German* opposition, *only with Rühle* and his associates!! Only with those who fearlessly sever all connections with overt and covert social-chauvinism, *socialisme chauvin*, i.e., with all the "defenders of the fatherland" in the present war!! We ourselves *are not afraid* to break with the French "patriots" who call the defence of colonies "defence of the fatherland", and we urge socialists and syndicalists in all countries *to do the same*!! We extend our hand to Otto Rühle and Liebknecht, *only* to them and their associates; and we denounce the French and the German *majorité* and *le marais*. We proclaim a great international unification of socialists all over the world who in this war repudiate "defence of the fatherland" as a fraud, and who are engaged in campaigning and preparing for the world proletarian revolution!

Such an appeal would be of tremendous importance. It would disperse the hypocrites, expose and unmask the international fraud, and would give a great impetus to the rallying of workers all over the world who have *really* remained loyal to internationalism.

Anarchist phrase-mongering has always done a lot of harm in France. But now the anarchist-patriots, the anarchist-*chauvins*, like Kropotkin, Grave, Cornelissen and the other knights of *La Bataille Chauviniste* will help to cure very many workers of anarchist phrase-mongering. Down with the socialist-

* The French abbreviations for Permanent Administrative Commission and parliamentary group.—Ed.

-patriots and socialist-*chauvins* and down also with anarchist-patriots and anarchist-*chauvins*! This call *will* be echoed in the hearts of the workers of France. Not anarchist phrase-mongering about revolution, but sustained, earnest, tenacious, persistent, systematic work of *everywhere* creating illegal organisations among the *workers*, of spreading *uncensored*, i.e., illegal, literature, of preparing the movement of the *masses* against their governments. This is what the working class of all countries needs!

It is not true to say that "the French are incapable" of carrying on illegal work regularly. It is *not* true! The French quickly learned to hide in the trenches; they will soon learn to do illegal work in the *new* conditions and systematically to build up a *revolutionary mass* movement. I have faith in the French revolutionary proletariat. It will also stimulate the French opposition.

With best wishes,

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I suggest that the French comrades publish a translation of this letter (in full) *as a separate leaflet*.

Published in French as a separate
leaflet in 1916
First published in Russian in 1924
in *Proletarskaya Revoliutsia* No. 4 (27)

Collected Works, Vol. 22, pp. 127—130

In the Footsteps of *Russkaya Volya*

(Extract)

The methods of *Russkaya Volya*, a paper from which even the Cadets turn away in disgust, find an increasing number of imitators. Look at Mr. Plekhanov's *Yedinstvo*. Intent on "exposing" *Pravda*, Mr. Plekhanov takes Lenin's first thesis, quotes the words saying that the war on Russia's part remains a predatory imperialist war, and then triumphantly asks:

"And how about Germany? Lenin says nothing about that."

This, literally, is what he writes. The reader can scarcely believe the evidence of his own eyes. Can it be that Mr. Plekhanov has sunk to the level of *Novoye Vremya* and *Russkaya Volya*? Believe it or not, but the fact stares you in the face.

Pravda No. 31, April 13, 1917

Collected Works, Vol. 24, p. 115

How the Bourgeoisie Utilises Renegades

(Extract)

Our wireless stations intercept messages from Carnarvon (Britain), Paris and other European centres. Today Paris is the centre of the world imperialist alliance and its wireless messages are therefore often of particular interest. A few days ago, on September 13, the government wireless station in this centre of world imperialism reported the publication of a new anti-Bolshevik book by Karl Kautsky, the well-known renegade and leader of the Second International.

The millionaires and multimillionaires would not use their government wireless station for nothing. They considered it necessary to publicise Kautsky's new crusade. In their attempt to stem the advancing tide of Bolshevism they have to grasp at everything—even at a straw, even at Kautsky's book. Our heartfelt thanks to the French millionaires for helping Bolshevik propaganda so splendidly, for helping us by making a laughing-stock of Kautsky's philistine anti-Bolshevism.

Today, September 18, I received the September 7 issue of *Vorwärts*, the newspapers of the German social-chauvinist, the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It has an article by Friedrich Stampfer on Kautsky's new book (*Terrorism and Communism*) and cites a number of passages from it. When we compare Stampfer's article and the Paris wireless message we see that the latter is in all probability based on the former. Kautsky's book is extolled by the Scheidemanns and Noskes, the bodyguards of the German bourgeoisie and murderers of the German Communists, by those who have joined the imperialists of the Entente in fighting international communism. A highly edifying spectacle! And when I called Kautsky a lackey of the bourgeoisie (in my book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*), our Mensheviks, those typical representatives of the Berne (yellow) International, could not find words strong enough to express their indignation.

But it is a fact, gentlemen, despite all your indignation. The Scheidemanns of *Vorwärts* and the Entente millionaires are certainly not in collusion with me when they praise Kautsky and hold him up as a weapon in the struggle against world Bolshevism. In relation to the bourgeoisie Kautsky—even if he did not realise and did not wish it—has proved to be exactly what I described him to be.

Published in September 1919

Collected Works, Vol. 30, pp. 27–28

"Left-wing" Communism — an Infantile Disorder

(Extracts)

"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM IN GERMANY. THE LEADERS, THE PARTY, THE CLASS, THE MASSES

The divergence between "leaders" and "masses" was brought out with particular clarity and sharpness in all countries at the end of the imperialist war and following it. The principal reason for this was explained many times by Marx and Engels between the years 1852 and 1892, from the example of Britain. That country's exclusive position led to the emergence, from the "masses", of a semi-petty-bourgeois, opportunist "labour aristocracy". The leaders of this labour aristocracy were constantly going over to the bourgeoisie, and were directly or indirectly on its pay roll. Marx earned the honour of incurring the hatred of these disreputable persons by openly branding them as traitors. Present-day (twentieth-century) imperialism has given a few advanced countries an exceptionally privileged position, which, everywhere in the Second International, has produced a certain type of traitor, opportunist, and social-chauvinist leaders, who champion the interests of their own craft, their own section of the labour aristocracy. The opportunist parties have become separated from the "masses", i.e., from the broadest strata of the working people, their majority, the lowest-paid workers. The revolutionary proletariat cannot be victorious unless this evil is combated, unless the opportunist, social-traitor leaders are exposed, discredited and expelled. That is the policy the Third International has embarked on.

To go so far, in this connection, as to contrast, *in general*, the dictatorship of the masses with a dictatorship of the leaders is ridiculously absurd, and stupid. What is particularly amusing is that, in fact, instead of the old leaders, who hold generally accepted views on simple matters, *new leaders* are brought forth (under cover of the slogan "Down with the leaders!"), who talk rank stuff and nonsense. Such are Laufenber, Wolffheim, Horner, Karl Schröder, Friedrich Wendel and Karl Erler,* in Germany. Erler's attempts to give the question

* Karl Erler, "The Dissolution of the Party", *Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung*, Hamburg, February 7, 1920, No. 32: "The working class cannot destroy the bourgeois state without destroying bourgeois democracy, and it cannot destroy bourgeois democracy without destroying parties."

The more muddle-headed of the syndicalists and anarchists in the Latin countries may derive "satisfaction" from the fact that solid Germans, who evidently consider themselves Marxists (by their articles in the above-mentioned paper K. Erler and K. Horner have shown most plainly that they consider themselves sound Marxists, but talk incredible nonsense in a most ridiculous manner and reveal their failure to understand the ABC of Marxism), go to the length of making utterly inept statements. Mere acceptance of Marxism does not save one from errors. We Russians know this especially well, because Marxism has been very often the "fashion" in our country.

more "profundity" and to proclaim that in general political parties are unnecessary and "bourgeois" are so supremely absurd that one can only shrug one's shoulders. It all goes to drive home the truth that a minor error can always assume monstrous proportions if it is persisted in, if profound justifications are sought for it, and if it is carried to its logical conclusion.

SHOULD WE PARTICIPATE IN BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENTS?

It is with utmost contempt—and the utmost levity—that the German "Left" Communists reply to this question in the negative. Their arguments? In the passage quoted above we read:

"... All reversion to parliamentary forms of struggle, which have become historically and politically obsolete, must be emphatically rejected . . ."

This is said with ridiculous pretentiousness, and is patently wrong. "Reversion" to parliamentarianism, forsooth! Perhaps there is already a Soviet republic in Germany? It does not look like it! How, then, can one speak of "reversion"? Is this not an empty phrase?

Parliamentarianism has become "historically obsolete". That is true in the propaganda sense. However, everybody knows that his is still a far cry from overcoming it in *practice*. Capitalism could have been declared—and with full justice—to be "historically obsolete" many decades ago, but that does not at all remove the need for a very long and very persistent struggle *on the basis* of capitalism. Parliamentarianism is "historically obsolete" from the standpoint of *world history*, e.i., the *era* of bourgeois parliamentarianism is over, and the *era* of the proletarian dictatorship has *begun*. That is incontestable. But world history is counted in decades. Ten or twenty years earlier or later makes no difference when measured with the yardstick of world history; from the standpoint of world history it is a trifle that cannot be considered even approximately. But for that very reason, it is a glaring theoretical error to apply the yardstick of world history to practical politics.

Is parliamentarianism "politically obsolete"? That is quite a different matter. If that were true, the position of the "Lefts" would be a strong one. But it has to be proved by a most searching analysis, and the "Lefts" do not even know how to approach the matter. In the "Theses on Parliamentarianism", published in the *Bulletin of the Provisional Bureau in Amsterdam of the Communist International* No. 1, February 1920, and obviously expressing the Dutch-Left or Left-Durch strivings, the analysis, as we shall see, is also hopelessly poor.

In the first place, contrary to the opinion of such outstanding political leaders as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the German "Lefts", as we know, considered parliamentarianism "politically obsolete" even in January 1919. We know that the "Lefts" were mistaken. This fact alone utterly destroys, at a single stroke, the proposition that parliamentarianism is "politically

obsolete". It is for the "Lefts" to prove why their error, indisputable at that time, is no longer an error. They do not and cannot produce even a shred of proof. A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfils *in practice* its obligations towards its *class* and the *working people*. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification—that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties, —and how it should educate and train its *class*, and then the *masses*. By failing to fulfil this duty and give the utmost attention and consideration to the study of their patent error, the "Lefts" in Germany (and in Holland) have proved that they are not a *party of a class*, but a circle, not a *party of the masses*, but a group of intellectualists and of a few workers who ape the worst features of intellectualism.

Second, in the same pamphlet of the Frankfurt group of "Lefts", which we have already cited in detail, we read:

"... The millions of workers who still follow the policy of the Centre [the Catholic "Centre" Party] are counter-revolutionary. The rural proletarians provide the legions of counter-revolutionary troops." (Page 3 of the pamphlet.)

Everything goes to show that this statement is far too sweeping and exaggerated. But the basic fact set forth here is incontrovertible, and its acknowledgement by the "Lefts" is particularly clear evidence of their mistake. How can one say that "parliamentarianism is politically obsolete", when "millions" and "legions" of *proletarians* are not only still in favour of parliamentarianism in general, but are downright "counter-revolutionary"? It is obvious that parliamentarianism in Germany is *not yet* politically obsolete. It is obvious that the "Lefts" in Germany have mistaken *their desire*, their politico-ideological attitude, for objective reality. That is a most dangerous mistake for revolutionaries to make. In Russia—where, over a particularly long period and in particularly varied forms, the most brutal and savage yoke of tsarism produced revolutionaries of diverse shades, revolutionaries who displayed amazing devotion, enthusiasm, heroism and will power—in Russia we have observed this mistake of the revolutionaries at very close quarters; we have studied it very attentively and have a first-hand knowledge of it; that is why we can also see it especially clearly in others. Parliamentarianism is of course "politically obsolete" to the Communists in Germany; but—and that is the whole point—we must *not* regard what is obsolete *to us* as something obsolete *to a class*, *to the masses*. Here again we find that the "Lefts" do not know how to reason, do not know how to act as the party of a *class*, as the party of the *masses*. You must not sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the backward strata of the class. That is incontestable. You must tell the bitter truth. You are in duty bound to call their bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices what they are—prejudices. But at the same time you must *soberly* follow the *actual* state of

the class-consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its communist vanguard), and of all the *working people* (not only of their advanced elements).

Even if only a fairly large *minority* of the industrial workers, and not "millions" and "legions", follow the lead of the Catholic clergy—and a similar minority of rural workers follow the landowners and kulaks (Grossbauern)—it *undoubtedly* signifies that parliamentarianism in Germany has *not yet* politically outlived itself, that participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the parliamentary rostrum is *obligatory* on the party of the revolutionary proletariat *specifically* for the purpose of educating the backward strata of *its own class*, and for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped, downtrodden and ignorant rural *masses*. Whilst you lack the strength to do away with bourgeois parliaments and every other type of reactionary institution, you *must* work within them because *it is there* that you will still find workers who are duped by the priests and stultified by the conditions of rural life; otherwise you risk turning into nothing but windbags.

Third, the "Left" Communists have a great deal to say in praise of us Bolsheviks. One sometimes feels like telling them to praise us less and to try to get a better knowledge of the Bolsheviks' tactics. We took part in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the Russian bourgeois parliament, in September-November 1917. Were our tactics correct or not? If not, then this should be clearly stated and proved, for it is necessary in evolving the correct tactics for international communism. If they were correct, then certain conclusions must be drawn. Of course, there can be no question of placing conditions in Russia on a par with conditions in Western Europe. But as regards the particular question of the meaning of the concept that "parliamentarianism has become politically obsolete", due account should be taken of our experience, for unless concrete experience is taken into account such concepts very easily turn into empty phrases. In September-November 1917, did we, the Russian Bolsheviks, not have *more* right than any Western Communists to consider that parliamentarianism was politically obsolete in Russia? Of course we did, for the point is not whether bourgeois parliaments have existed for a long time or a short time, but how far the masses of the working people are *prepared* (ideologically, politically and practically) to accept the Soviet system and to dissolve the bourgeois-democratic parliament (or allow it to be dissolved). It is an absolutely incontestable and fully established historical fact that, in September-November 1917, the urban working class and the soldiers and peasants of Russia were, because of a number of special conditions exceptionally well prepared to accept the Soviet system and to disband the most democratic of bourgeois parliaments. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks did *not* boycott the Constituent Assembly, but took part in the elections both before *and after* the proletariat conquered political power. That these elections yielded exceedingly valuable (and to the proletariat, highly useful) political results has, I make bold to hope, been proved by me in the above-mentioned

article, which analyses in detail the returns of the elections to the Constituent Assembly in Russia.

The conclusion which follows from this is absolutely incontrovertible: it has been proved that, far from causing harm to the revolutionary proletariat, participation in a bourgeois-democratic parliament, even a few weeks before the victory of a Soviet republic and even *after* such a victory, actually helps that proletariat to *prove* to the backward masses why such parliaments deserve to be done away with; it *facilitates* their successful dissolution, and *helps* to make bourgeois parliamentarianism "politically obsolete". To ignore this experience, while at the same time claiming affiliation to the Communist *International*, which must work out its tactics internationally (not as narrow or exclusively national tactics, but as international tactics), means committing a gross error and actually abandoning internationalism in deed, while recognising it in word.

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Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 42-43;
56-60

Section VII

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' AND COMMUNIST PRESS

The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart

(Extract)

The resolution on the relations between the socialist parties and the trade unions is of especial importance to us Russians. The Stockholm R.S.D.L.P. Congress went on record for *non-Party* unions, thus endorsing the neutrality standpoint, which has always been upheld by our non-Party democrats, Bernsteinians and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The London Congress, on the other hand, put forward a different principle, namely, closer alignment of the unions with the Party, even including, under certain conditions, their recognition as Party unions. At Stuttgart in the Social-Democratic subsection of the Russian section (the socialists of each country form a separate section at international congresses) opinion was divided on this issue (there was no split on other issues). Plekhanov upheld the neutrality principle. Voinov, a Bolshevik, defended the anti-neutralist viewpoint of the London Congress and of the Belgian resolution (published in the Congress materials with de Brouckère's report, which will soon appear in Russian). Clara Zetkin rightly remarked in her journal *Die Gleichheit* that Plekhanov's arguments for neutrality were just as lame as those of the French. And the Stuttgart resolution—as Kautsky rightly observed and as anyone who takes the trouble to read it carefully will see—puts an end to recognition of the “neutrality” principle. There is not a word in it about neutrality or non-party principles. On the contrary, it

definitely recognises the need for closer and stronger connections between the unions and the socialist parties.

Written at the end of August
and beginning of September 1907
Published in *Proletary*, No. 17,
October 20, 1907

Collected Works, Vol. 13, p. 78

The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart

(Extracts)

The recent Congress in Stuttgart was the twelfth congress of the proletarian International. The first five congresses belong to the period of the First International (1866-72), which was guided by Marx, who, as Bebel aptly observed, tried to achieve international unity of the militant proletariat from above. This attempt could not be successful until the national socialist parties were consolidated and strengthened, but the activities of the First International rendered great services to the labour movement of all countries and left lasting traces.

The Second International was inaugurated at the International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1889. At the subsequent congresses in Brussels (1891), Zurich (1893), London (1896), Paris (1900), and Amsterdam (1904), this new International, resting on strong national parties, was finally consolidated. In Stuttgart there were 884 delegates from 25 nations of Europe, Asia (Japan and some from India), America, Australia, and Africa (one delegate from South Africa).

The great importance of the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart lies in the fact that it marked the final consolidation of the Second International and the transformation of international congresses into business-like meetings which exercise very considerable influence on the nature and direction of socialist activities throughout the world. Formally, the decisions of the International congresses are not binding on the individual nations, but their moral significance is such that the non-observance of decisions is, in fact, an exception which is rarer than the non-observance by the individual parties of the decisions of their own congresses. The Amsterdam Congress succeeded in uniting the French socialists, and its resolution against ministerialism really expressed the will of the class-conscious proletariat of the whole world and determined the policy of the working-class parties.

The Stuttgart Congress made a big stride forward in the same direction, and on a number of important issues proved to be the supreme body determin-

ing the political line of socialism. The Stuttgart Congress, more firmly even than the Amsterdam Congress, laid this line down in the spirit of revolutionary Social-Democracy as opposed to opportunism. *Die Gleichheit*, the organ of the German Social-Democratic women workers, edited by Clara Zetkin, justly observed in this connection:

"On all questions the various deviations of certain socialist parties towards opportunism were corrected in a revolutionary sense with the co-operation of the socialists of all countries."

The remarkable and sad feature in this connection was that German Social-Democracy, which hitherto had always upheld the revolutionary standpoint in Marxism, proved to be unstable, or took an opportunist stand. The Stuttgart Congress confirmed a profound observation which Engels once made concerning the German labour movement. On April 29, 1886, Engels wrote to Sorge, a veteran of the First International:

"In general it is a good thing that the leadership of the Germans is being challenged, especially after they have elected so many philistine elements (which is unavoidable, it is true). In Germany everything becomes philistine in calm times; the sting of French competition is thus absolutely necessary. And it will not be lacking."

The sting of French competition was not lacking at Stuttgart, and this sting proved to be really necessary, for the Germans displayed a good deal of philistinism. It is especially important for the Russian Social-Democrats to bear this in mind, for our liberals (and not only the liberals) are trying their hardest to represent the least creditable features of German Social-Democracy as a model worthy of imitation. The most thoughtful and outstanding minds among the German Social-Democrats have noted this fact themselves and, casting aside all false shame, have definitely pointed to it as a warning.

"In Amsterdam," writes Clara Zetkin's journal, "the revolutionary *leitmotiv* of all the debates in the parliament of the world proletariat was the Dresden resolution; in Stuttgart a jarring opportunist note was struck by Vollmar's speeches in the Commission on Militarism, by Păpłow's speeches in the Emigration Commission, and by David's [and, we would add, Bernstein's] speeches in the Colonial Commission. On this occasion, in most of the commissions and on most issues, the representatives of Germany were leaders of opportunism." And K. Kautsky, in appraising the Stuttgart Congress, writes: "... the leading role which German Social-Democracy has actually played in the Second International up to now was not in evidence on this occasion".

This most outstanding, most important feature of the Congress resolution on anti-militarism has been very aptly caught in Zetkin's journal, to which we have already referred more than once.

"Here too," Zetkin says of the anti-militarist resolution, "the revolutionary energy [*Tatkraft*] and courageous faith of the working class in its fighting capacity won in the end, winning, on the one hand, over the pessimistic gospel

of impotence and the hidebound tendency to stick to old, exclusively parliamentary methods of struggle, and, on the other hand, over the banal anti-militarist sport of the French semi-anarchists of the Hervé type. The resolution, which was finally carried unanimously both by the Commission and by nearly 900 delegates of all countries, expresses in vigorous terms the gigantic upswing of the revolutionary labour movement since the last International Congress; the resolution puts forward as a principle that proletarian tactics should be flexible, capable of developing, and *sharpening* [*Zuspitzung*] in proportion as conditions ripen for that purpose."

Written in September 1907
Published in October 1907
in *Kalendar dlya vsekh*, 1908
Signed: N. L.

Collected Works, Vol. 13, pp. 82—86, 92

The Jubilee Number of "Zihna"

When the comrade delegated by the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish Region made a report on the status of work in the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish Region at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (this report was summarised in No. 12 of our Party's Central Organ), we were left with the impression of an unusually "normal" and painless development of the Lettish Social-Democratic movement during the difficult times through which we are passing. What created this impression was that the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish Region, being the most proletarian in composition and with a mainly working-class leadership, has already, in accordance with the demands of objective circumstances, proceeded to work out special tactics and solve the organisational problems of this protracted period of counter-revolution. During the revolution the Lettish proletariat and the Lettish Social-Democratic Party occupied one of the first and most prominent places in the struggle against the autocracy and all the forces of the old order. Incidentally, it is not without interest to note that the official strike statistics of 1905 (published by the Ministry of Trade and Industry) show that Livonian Gubernia takes first place for the persistence of the proletarian strike movement. In 1905 the number of factory workers in Livonian Gubernia totalled 53,917, while the number of strikers was 268,567, i.e., almost five times (4.98) as many! In that year every worker in Livonian Gubernia went on strike on the average 5 times. Next after Livonian Gubernia comes Baku Gubernia, where each factory worker struck 4.56 times, Tiflis Gubernia—4.49 times, Petrokov Gubernia—4.98 times and St. Petersburg—4.19. In Moskow Gubernia in 1905 the number of workers on strike came to

276,563, i.e., only a few more than in Livonian Gubernia, although the total number of factory workers in Moscow Gubernia is five times as large as in Livonian Gubernia (285,769 against 53,917). We see from this how much more class-conscious, unanimous and revolutionary the Lettish proletariat was in its activity. But we also know that its role of vanguard in the offensive against absolutism was not limited to strike action: it was in the van of the armed uprising, it contributed most of all to raising the movement to the highest level, i.e., the level of an uprising. It succeeded more than any other in drawing the Lettish agricultural proletariat and the Lettish peasantry into the great revolutionary struggle against tsarism and the landlords.

Besides being one of the leading contingents of Russian Social-Democracy during the revolution, the Lettish workers' party has proved to be in the front ranks too during the difficult period of counter-revolution. We learned from the report mentioned above that no special trend has arisen among the Lettish Social-Democrats either of an infatuation for revolutionary phrases (like our "otzovists") or of an infatuation for legal opportunities (like our *liquidators*, who reject the illegal Party and stand aside from the task of restoring and strengthening the R.S.D.L.P.). The Lettish Social-Democratic workers have succeeded in setting about the work of utilising all kinds of legal avenues: the legal unions, various workingmen's associations, the Duma tribune, etc. Moreover they have not in the least "liquidated" the illegal, revolutionary Social-Democratic Party; on the contrary, they have everywhere preserved the workers' illegal Party units, which will uphold and continue the traditions of the great revolutionary struggle, training by steady and persistent effort increasingly numerous and class-conscious masses of combatants drawn from the young generations of the working class.

There is no doubt that among the causes to which the success of the Lettish Social-Democrats is due we must assign the foremost place to the higher development of capitalism, both in town and countryside, the greater clarity and definiteness of the class contradictions, their aggravation by national oppression, the concentration of the Lettish population and its superior cultural development. In all these respects the situation in which the Russian working class has to develop and operate is much less developed. It is this underdevelopment that is now engendering a more acute crisis in the Russian section of the R.S.D.L.P. The petty-bourgeois intellectuals in our movement play a big role. They bring liabilities as well as assets: they bring not only the elaboration of questions of theory and tactics but an "elaboration" of every deviation from the Social-Democratic path into a distinct "trend", as, for example, "otzovism" and "liquidationism".

We venture to express the hope that the Lettish Social-Democrats, who have every reason to be proud of their successes, will not consider these vexed questions of the R.S.D.L.P. beneath their dignity.

The more class-conscious the proletariat, the more clearly does it visualise its Social-Democratic aims, the more vigorously does it fight against all petty-

bourgeois distortions in the workers' movement, the more is it concerned to free its less developed working-class comrades from the influence of petty-bourgeois opportunism.

The liquidationist trend in the R.S.D.L.P. is a product of the petty-bourgeois relations in Russia. The whole liberal bourgeoisie takes its stand against the revolution, repudiates it, anathematises the tactics of 1905, which, it says, were "bloody and abortive", grovels before the powers that be, exhorts the people to confine themselves to *legal* methods of struggle. And the petty-bourgeois intellectuals in our Party succumb to the influence of counter-revolutionary liberalism. A history of the revolution has been published in five volumes (*The Social Movement in Russia at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, edited by Maslov, Martov and Potresov). This history in effect propagates the doctrine of the renegades, that the proletariat "overestimated" its strength and "underestimated" the strength of the bourgeoisie, and so forth. Actually what the masses of the proletariat did underestimate was the treachery of the bourgeoisie; they overestimated the strength of the bourgeoisie in the fight for freedom, and underestimated organisations, utilise the tribune of the black-reactionary Duma for our agitation, instil among the mass of the workers the lessons learned in the revolutionary struggle, and create a Social-Democratic Party which will lead tens of millions of people to a new onslaught against the autocracy.

Printed in July 1910,
in the newspaper *Zihna* No. 100
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 16, p. 260

The Successes of the American Workers

The latest issue of the American labour weekly, *Appeal to Reason*, received in Europe reports that its circulation has increased to 984,000 copies. The letters and demands coming in—writes the editor (No. 875, September 7, new style)—indicate beyond doubt that we shall exceed one million copies in the next few weeks.

This figure—a million copies of a socialist weekly which American courts harass and persecute shamelessly and which is growing and gaining strength under the fire of persecution—shows more clearly than long arguments the kind of revolution that is approaching in America.

Not long ago the sycophantic *Novoye Vremya*, a mouthpiece of venal hacks, wrote about the "power of money" in America, relating with malicious joy the facts about the monstrous venality of Taft, Roosevelt, Wilson and, indeed, *all* Presidential candidates put up by the bourgeois parties. Here is a free, democratic republic for you, hissed the venal Russian newspaper.

The class-conscious workers will reply to that calmly and proudly: we have no illusions about the significance of broad democracy. No democracy in the world can eliminate the class struggle and the omnipotence of money. It is not this that makes democracy important and useful. The importance of democracy is that it makes the class struggle broad, open and conscious. And this is not a conjecture or a wish, but a fact.

At a time when the membership of the German Social-Democratic Party has grown to 970,000 and when the circulation of an American socialist daily has climbed to 984,000 copies, anyone who has eyes to see must acknowledge that a proletarian is powerless when alone but that millions of proletarians are all-powerful.

Pravda No. 120, September 18, 1912
Signed: M. N.

Collected Works, Vol. 18, pp. 335—336

August Bebel

With the death of Bebel we lost not only the German Social-Democratic leader who had the greatest influence among the working class, and was most popular with the masses; in the course of his development and his political activity, Bebel was the embodiment of a whole historical period in the life of international as well as German Social-Democracy.

Two big periods are to be distinguished in the history of international Social-Democracy. The first period was that of the birth of socialist ideas and the embryonic class struggle of the proletariat; a long and stubborn struggle between extremely numerous socialist theories and sects. Socialism was feeling its way, was seeking its true self. The class struggle of the proletariat, which was only just beginning to emerge as something different from the common mass of the petty-bourgeois "people", took the shape of isolated outbursts, like the uprising of the Lyons weavers. The working class was at that time also only feeling its way.

This was the period of preparation and of the birth of Marxism, the only socialist doctrine that has stood the test of history. The period occupied approximately the first two-thirds of the last century and ended with the complete victory of Marxism, the collapse (especially after the Revolution of 1848) of all pre-Marxian forms of socialism, and the separation of the working class from petty-bourgeois democracy and its entry upon an independent historical path.

The second period is that of the formation, growth and maturing of mass socialist parties with a proletarian class composition. This period is characterised by the tremendous spread of socialism, the unprecedented growth of all kinds

of organisations of the proletariat, and the all-round preparation of the proletariat in the most varied fields for the fulfilment of its great historic mission. In recent years a third period has been making its appearance, a period in which the forces that have been prepared will achieve their goal in a series of crises.

Himself a worker, Bebel developed a socialist world outlook at the cost of stubborn struggle; he devoted his wealth of energy entirely, withholding nothing, to the cause of socialism; for several decades he marched shoulder to shoulder with the growing and developing German proletariat and became the most gifted parliamentarian in Europe, the most talented organiser and tactician, the most influential leader of international Social-Democracy, Social-Democracy hostile to reformism and opportunism.

Bebel was born in Cologne on the Rhine on February 22, 1840, in the poor family of a Prussian sergeant. He imbibed many barbarous prejudices with his mother's milk and later slowly but surely rid himself of them. The population of the Rhineland was republican in temper in 1848-49, the period of the bourgeois revolution in Germany. In the elementary school only two boys, one of them Bebel, expressed monarchist sympathies and were beaten up for it by their schoolfellows. "One beaten is worth two unbeaten" is a Russian saying that freely translates the "moral" Bebel himself drew when relating this episode of his childhood years in his memoirs.

The sixties of the last century brought a liberal "springtide" to Germany after long, weary years of counter-revolution, and there was a new awakening of the mass working-class movement. Lassalle began his brilliant but short-lived agitation. Bebel, by now a young turner's apprentice, hungrily devoured the liberal newspaper published by the old people who had been active in the 1848 Revolution, and became an ardent participant in workers' educational associations. Having got rid of the prejudices of the Prussian barracks, he had adopted liberal views and was struggling against socialism.

Life, however, took its course and the young worker, through reading Lassalle's pamphlets, gradually found his way to Marx despite the difficulties involved in getting to know Marx's writings in a Germany that had suffered the oppression of the counter-revolution for more than ten years. The conditions of working-class life, the serious and conscientious study of the social sciences, pushed Bebel towards socialism. He would have arrived at socialism himself, but Liebknecht who was fourteen years older than Bebel and had just returned from exile in London, helped to accelerate his development.

Evil tongues among Marx's opponents were saying at that time that Marx's party consisted of three people—Marx, the head of the party, his secretary Engels, and his "agent" Liebknecht. The unintelligent shunned Liebknecht as the "agent" of exiles or foreigners, but Bebel found in Liebknecht just what he wanted—living contact with the great work done by Marx in 1848, contact with the party formed at that time, which, though small, was genuinely proletarian, a living representative of Marxist views and Marxist traditions.

"There is something to be learnt from that man, damn it!" the young turner Bebel is said to have remarked, speaking of Liebknecht.

In the later sixties Bebel broke with the liberals, separated the socialist section of the workers' unions from the bourgeois-democratic section and, together with Liebknecht, took his place in the front ranks of the Eisenacher party, the party of Marxists that was to struggle for many long years against the other working-class party.

To put it briefly, the historical reason for the split in the German socialist movement amounts to this. The question of the day was the unification of Germany. Given the class relationships then obtaining, it could have been effected in either of two ways—through a revolution, led by the proletariat, to establish an all-German republic, or through Prussian dynastic wars to strengthen the hegemony of the Prussian landowners in a united Germany.

Lassale and his followers, in view of the poor chances for the proletarian and democratic way, pursued unstable tactics and adapted themselves to the leadership of the Junker Bismarck. Their mistake lay in diverting the workers' party on to the Bonapartist-state-socialist path. Bebel and Liebknecht, on the other hand, consistently supported the democratic and proletarian path and struggled against any concessions to Prussianism, Bismarckism or nationalism.

History showed that Bebel and Liebknecht were right, *despite* Germany's having been united in the Bismarckian way. It was only the consistently democratic and revolutionary tactics of Bebel and Liebknecht, only their "unyielding" attitude towards nationalism, only their "intractability" in respect of the unification of Germany and her renovation "from above", that helped provide a sound basis for a genuinely Social-Democratic workers' party. And in those days the essential thing was the *basis* of the party.

That the Lassalleans' flirting with Bismarckism, or their "accommodations" to it, did not harm the German working-class movement was due *only* to the very energetic, ruthlessly sharp rebuff dealt to their intrigues by Bebel and Liebknecht.

When the question was settled historically, five years after the foundation of the German Empire, Bebel and Liebknecht were able to unite the two workers' parties and ensure the hegemony of Marxism in the united party.

As soon as the German parliament was set up, Bebel was elected to it, although at the time he was still quite young—only twenty-seven years old. The fundamentals of parliamentary tactics for German (and international) Social-Democracy, tactics that never yield an inch to the enemy, never miss the slightest opportunity to achieve even small improvements for the workers and are at the same time implacable on questions of principle and always directed to the accomplishment of the final aim—the fundamentals of these tactics were elaborated by Bebel himself or under his direct leadership and with his participation.

Germany, united in the Bismarckian way, renovated in the Prussian, Junker way, responded to the successes of the workers' party with the Anti-

Socialist Law. The legal conditions for the existence of the working-class party were destroyed and the party was outlawed. Difficult times were at hand. To persecution by the party's enemies was added an inner-party crisis—vacillation on the basic questions of tactics. At first the opportunists came to the fore; they allowed themselves to be frightened by the loss of the party's legality, and the mournful song they sang was that of rejecting full-blooded slogans and accusing themselves of having gone much too far, etc. Incidentally, one of the representatives of this opportunist trend, Höchberg, rendered financial aid to the party, which was still weak and could not immediately find its feet.

Marx and Engels launched a fierce attack from London against disgraceful opportunist shilly-shallying. Bebel showed himself to be a real party leader. He recognised the danger in good time, understood the correctness of the criticism by Marx and Engels and was able to direct the party on to the path of implacable struggle. The illegal newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat* was established and was published first in Zurich and then in London; it was delivered weekly in Germany and had as many as 10,000 subscribers. Opportunist waverings were firmly stopped.

Another form of wavering was due to infatuation with Dühring at the end of the seventies of the last century. For a short time Bebel also shared that infatuation. Dühring's supporters, the most outstanding of which was Most, toyed with "Leftism" and very soon slid into anarchism. Engels's sharp, annihilating criticism of Dühring's theories met with disapproval in many party circles and at one congress it was even proposed to close the columns of the central newspaper to that criticism.

All the viable socialist elements—headed, of course, by Bebel—soon realised that the "new" theories were rotten to the core and broke away from them and from all anarchist trends. Under the leadership of Bebel and Liebknecht the party learned to combine illegal and legal work. When the majority of the legally-existing Social-Democratic group in parliament adopted an opportunist position on the famous question of voting *for* the shipping subsidy, the illegal *Sozialdemokrat* *opposed* the group and, after a battle four weeks long, proved victorious.

The Anti-Socialist Law was defeated in 1890 after having been in operation for twelve years. A party crisis, very similar to that of the mid-seventies, again occurred. The opportunists under Vollmar, on the one hand, were prepared to take advantage of legality to reject full-blooded slogans and implacable tactics. The so-called "young ones", on the other hand, were toying with "Leftism", drifting towards anarchism. Considerable credit is due to Bebel and Liebknecht for offering the most resolute resistance to these waverings and making the party crisis a short-lived and not very serious one.

A period of rapid growth set in for the party, growth in both breadth and depth, in the development of the trade union, co-operative, educational and other forms of organisation of the forces of the proletariat, as well as their

political organisation. It is impossible to assess the gigantic practical work carried out in all these spheres by Bebel as a parliamentarian, agitator and organiser. It was by this work that Bebel earned his position as the undisputed and generally accepted leader of the party, the one who was closest to the working-class masses and most popular among them.

The last crisis in the German party in which Bebel took an active part was that of the so-called Bernsteinism. At the very end of the last century, Bernstein, formerly an orthodox Marxist, adopted purely reformist, opportunist views. Attempts were made to turn the working-class party into a petty-bourgeois party of social reforms. This new opportunism found many supporters among the functionaries of the working-class movement and among the intelligentsia.

Bebel expressed the mood of the working-class masses and their firm conviction that a fight should be put up for full-blooded slogans, when he revolted with great vigour against this new opportunism. His speeches against the opportunists at the congresses in Hanover and Dresden will long remain as a model of the defence of Marxist views and of the struggle for the truly socialist character of the workers' party. The period of preparation and the mustering of working-class forces is in all countries a necessary stage in the development of the world emancipation struggle of the proletariat, and nobody can compare with August Bebel as a brilliant personification of the peculiarities and tasks of that period. Himself a worker, he proved able to break his own road to sound socialist convictions and became a model workers' leader, a representative and participant in the mass struggle of the wage-slaves of capital for a better social system.

Severnaya Pravda No. 6,
August 8, 1913
Signed: V. I.

Collected Works, Vol. 19, pp. 295—301

Harry Quelch

On Wednesday, September 17 (September 4, O. S.), Comrade Harry Quelch, leader of the British Social-Democrats, died in London. The British Social-Democratic organisation was formed in 1884 and was called the Social-Democratic Federation. In 1909 the name was changed to Social-Democratic Party, and in 1911, after a number of independently existing socialist groups amalgamated with it, it assumed the name of the British Socialist Party.

Harry Quelch was one of the most energetic and devoted workers in the British Social-Democratic movement. He was active not only as a Social-Democratic Party worker, but also as a trade-unionist. The London Society

of Compositors repeatedly elected him its Chairman, and he was several times Chairman of the London Trades Council.

Quelch was the editor of *Justice*, the weekly organ of the British Social-Democrats, as well as editor of the party monthly journal, the *Social-Democrat*.

He took a very active part in all the work of the British Social-Democratic movement and regularly addressed party and public meetings. On many occasions he represented British Social-Democracy at international congresses and on the International Socialist Bureau. Incidentally, when he attended the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress he was persecuted by the Wurtemberg Government, which *expelled* him from Stuttgart (without trial, by police order, as an alien) for referring at a public meeting to the Hague Conference as a "thieves' supper". When, the day following Quelch's expulsion, the Congress resumed its session, the British delegates left empty the chair on which Quelch had sat, and hung a notice on it bearing the inscription: "Here sat Harry Quelch, now expelled by the Wurtemberg Government."

The South Germans often boast of their hatred for the Prussians because of the Prussian red tape, bureaucracy and police rule, but they themselves behave like the worst Prussians where a proletarian socialist is concerned.

The historical conditions for the activities of the British Social-Democrats, whose leader Quelch was, are of a very particular kind. In the most advanced land of capitalism and political liberty, the British bourgeoisie (who as far back as the seventeenth century settled accounts with the absolute monarchy in a rather democratic way) managed in the nineteenth century to *split* the British working-class movement. In the middle of the nineteenth century Britain enjoyed an almost complete monopoly in the world market. Thanks to this monopoly the profits acquired by British capital were extraordinarily high, so that it was possible for some crumbs of these profits to be thrown to the aristocracy of labour, the skilled factory workers.

This aristocracy of labour, which at that time earned tolerably good wages, boxed itself up in narrow, self-interested craft unions, and isolated itself from the mass of the proletariat, while in politics it supported the liberal bourgeoisie. And to this very day perhaps nowhere in the world are there so many liberals among the advanced workers as in Britain.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, things began to change. Britain's monopoly was challenged by America, Germany, etc. The economic basis for the narrow, petty-bourgeois trade-unionism and liberalism among British workers has been destroyed. Socialism is again raising its head in Britain, getting through to the masses and growing irresistibly *despite* the rank opportunism of the British near-socialist intelligentsia.

Quelch was in the front ranks of those who fought steadfastly and with conviction against opportunism and a liberal-labour policy in the British working-class movement. True, isolation from the masses sometimes infected the British Social-Democrats with a certain sectarianism. Hyndman, the leader and founder of Social-Democracy in Britain, has even slipped into jingoism.

But the party of the Social-Democrats* has fought him on this, and over the whole of Britain the Social-Democrats, and they *alone*, have for decades been carrying on systematic propaganda and agitation in the Marxist spirit. This is the great historical service rendered by Quelch and his comrades. The fruits of the activities of the Marxist Quelch will be reaped in full measure by the British working-class movement in the next few years.

In conclusion we cannot refrain from mentioning Quelch's sympathy for the Russian Social-Democrats and the assistance he rendered them. Eleven years ago the Russian Social-Democratic newspaper had to be printed in London. The British Social-Democrats, headed by Quelch, readily made their printing-plant available. As a consequence, Quelch himself had to "squeeze up". A corner was boarded off at the printing-works by a thin partition to serve him as editorial room. This corner contained a very small writing-table, a bookshelf above it, and a chair. When the present writer visited Quelch in this "editorial office" there was no room for another chair

Pravda Truda No. 1, September 11, 1913; *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, pp. 369—371

Nash Put No. 16, September 12, 1913

Signed: V. I.

Socialism and War

THE ATTITUDE OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TOWARDS THE WAR

(Extract)

There cannot be the least doubt that what interests all internationalists most is the state of affairs among the German Social-Democratic opposition. The official German Social-Democratic Party, the strongest and the foremost in the Second International, has dealt the international workers' organisation the most telling blow. At the same time, however, it was among the German Social-Democrats that the strongest opposition arose. Of all the big European parties, it is in the German party that a loud voice of protest was first raised by comrades who have remained loyal to the banner of socialism. We were delighted to read the journals *Lichtstrahlen* and *Die Internationale*. It gave us still greater pleasure to learn of the distribution in Germany of secretly printed revolutionary manifestos, as for example the one entitled: "The Main Enemy Is Within the Country". This showed that the spirit of socialism is alive among the German workers, and that there are still people in Germany capable of upholding revolutionary Marxism.

* The party here referred to is the British Socialist Party, founded in 1911.—Ed.

The split in the present-day socialist movement has most strikingly revealed itself within the German Social-Democratic movement. Three trends can be clearly distinguished here: the opportunist chauvinists, who have nowhere sunk to such foul apostasy as in Germany; the Kautskian "Centre", which have here proved totally incapable of playing any other role than that of menials to the opportunists; the Lefts, who are the only Social-Democrats in Germany.

Naturally, the state of affairs among the German Lefts is what interests us most. In them we see our comrades, the hope of all the internationalist elements.

What is the state of affairs among them?

The journal *Die Internationale* was quite right in writing that the German Lefts are still in a state of ferment, that considerable regroupings still await them, and that within them some elements are more resolute and others less resolute.

Written in July-August 1915
Published in pamphlet form in the autumn
of 1915 by the *Sotsial-Demokrat* Editorial
Board in Geneva

Collected Works, Vol. 21, pp. 325—326

Appeal on the War

(Extract)

All class-conscious workers in Russia are on the side of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma, whose members (Petrovsky, Badayev, Muranov, Samoilov, and Shagov) have been exiled by the tsar to Siberia for revolutionary propaganda against the war and against the government. It is only in such revolutionary propaganda, and in revolutionary activities leading to a revolt of the masses, that the salvation of humanity from the horrors of the present and the future wars lies. Only the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois governments, in the first place of the most reactionary, brutal, and barbarous tsarist government, will open the road to socialism and peace among nations.

The conscious or unwitting servants of the bourgeoisie are lying when they wish to persuade the people that the revolutionary overthrow of the tsarist monarchy can lead only to victories for and consolidation of the German reactionary monarchy and the German bourgeoisie. Although the leaders of the German socialists, like many leading socialists in Russia, have gone over to the side of their "own" bourgeoisie and are helping to deceive the people with fables

of a war of "defence", there is mounting among the working masses of Germany an ever stronger protest and indignation against their government. The German socialists who have not gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie have declared in the press that they consider the tactics of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma "heroic". In Germany, calls against the war and against the government are being published illegally. Tens and hundreds of the finest socialists of Germany, including Clara Zetkin, the well-known representative of the women's labour movement, have been thrown into prison by the German Government for propaganda in a revolutionary spirit. In all the belligerent countries without exception, indignation is mounting in the working masses, and the example of revolutionary activities set by the Social-Democrats of Russia, and even more so any success of the revolution in Russia, will not fail to advance the great cause of socialism, of the victory of the proletariat over the blood-stained bourgeois exploiters.

The war is filling the pockets of the capitalists, into whose pockets gold is pouring from the treasuries of the Great Powers. The war is provoking a blind bitterness against the enemy, the bourgeoisie doing its best to direct the indignation of the people into such channels, to divert their attention from the *chief* enemy—the government and the ruling classes of their *own* country. However, the war which brings in its train endless misery and suffering for the toiling masses, enlightens and steels the finest representatives of the working class. If perish we must, let us perish in the struggle for our own cause, for the cause of the workers, for the socialist revolution, and not for the interests of the capitalists, the landowners, and tsars—this is what every class-conscious worker sees and feels. Revolutionary Social-Democratic work may be difficult at present, but it is possible. It is advancing throughout the world, and in this alone lies salvation.

Down with the tsarist monarchy, which has drawn Russia into a criminal war, and which oppresses the peoples! Long live the world brotherhood of the workers, and the international revolution of the proletariat!

Written in August 1915

Collected Works, Vol. 21, pp. 3

First published in *Pravda* No. 18,
January 21, 1928

The Youth International

A REVIEW

A German-language publication bearing the above title has been appearing in Switzerland since September 1, 1915. It carries the subtitle: "Militant and Propaganda Organ of the International League of Socialist Youth Organisa-

tions". Altogether six issues have appeared so far. The magazine merits our attention and should be strongly recommended to all Party members in a position to contact foreign Social-Democratic parties and youth organisations.

Most of the official European Social-Democratic parties are advocating the foulest and vilest social-chauvinism and opportunism. This applies to the German and French parties, the Fabian Society and the Labour Party in England, the Swedish, Dutch (Troelstra's party), Danish, Austrian parties, etc. In the Swiss party, notwithstanding the withdrawal (to the great benefit of the labour movement) of the extreme opportunists, now organised in the *non-party* "Grütli-Verein", there still remain within the Social-Democratic Party numerous opportunist, social-chauvinist and Kautskyite leaders who exercise *tremendous* influence on its affairs.

With this state of affairs in Europe, there falls on the League of Socialist Youth Organisations the tremendous, grateful but difficult task of fighting for revolutionary internationalism, for true socialism and against the prevailing opportunism which has deserted to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The *Youth International* has published a number of good articles in defence of revolutionary internationalism, and the magazine as a whole is permeated with a fine spirit of intense hatred for the betrayers of socialism, the "defenders of the fatherland" in the present war, and with an earnest desire to wipe out the corroding influence of chauvinism and opportunism in the international labour movement.

Of course, the youth organ *still* lacks theoretical clarity and consistency. Perhaps it may never acquire them, precisely because it is the organ of seething, turbulent, inquiring youth. However, our attitude towards the lack of theoretical clarity on the part of *such* people must be entirely different from what our attitude is and should be towards the theoretical muddle in the heads, and the lack of revolutionary consistency in the hearts, of our "O.C.-ists", "Socialist-Revolutionaries", Tolstoyans, anarchists, the European Kautskyites ("Centre"), etc. Adults who lay claim to lead and teach the proletariat, but actually mislead it, are one thing: against such people a *ruthless* struggle must be waged. Organisations of *youth*, however, which openly declare that they are still learning, that their main task is to train party workers for the socialist parties, are quite another thing. Such people must be given every assistance. We must be patient with their faults and strive to correct them gradually, mainly by *persuasion*, and not by fighting them. The middleaged and the aged often *do not know how* to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism *in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances* than their fathers. Incidentally, that is why we must decidedly *favour organisational independence* of the Youth League, *not only* because the opportunists fear such independence, but because of the very nature of the case. For unless they have complete independence, the youth *will be unable* either to train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism *forward*.

We stand for the complete independence of the Youth Leagues, but also

for complete freedom of comradely criticism of their errors! We must not flatter the youth.

Of the errors to be noted in this excellent magazine, reference must first of all be made to the following three:

1) The incorrect position on the question of disarmament (or "disarming"), which we criticised in a preceding article. There is reason to believe that this error arises entirely out of the laudable desire to emphasise the need to strive for the "complete destruction of militarism" (which is perfectly correct); but the role of civil wars in the socialist revolution is forgotten.

2) On the question of the differences between socialists and anarchists in their attitude towards the state, Comrade Nota-Bene in his article (issue No. 6) falls into a very serious error (as he also does on several other questions, for instance, our *reasons* for combating the "defence of the fatherland" slogan). The author wishes to present "a clear picture of the state in general" (together with that of the imperialist predatory state). He quotes several statements by Marx and Engels, and arrives at the following two conclusions, among others:

a) "... It is absolutely wrong to seek the difference between socialists and anarchists in the fact that the former are in favour of the state while the latter are against it. The real difference is that revolutionary Social-Democracy desires to organise social production on new lines, as centralised, i. e., technically the most progressive, method of production, whereas decentralised, anarchist production would mean retrogression to obsolete techniques, to the old form of enterprise." This is wrong. The author raises the question of the difference in the socialists' and anarchists' attitude *towards the state*. However, he answers *not* this question, but *another*, namely, the difference in their attitude towards the economic foundation of future society. That, of course, is an important and necessary question. But that is no reason to ignore the *main* point of difference between socialists and anarchists in their attitude towards the state. Socialists are in favour of utilising the present state and its institutions in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, maintaining also that the state should be used for a specific form of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transitional form is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is *also* a state.

The anarchists want to "abolish" the state, "blow it up" (*sprengen*) as Comrade Nota-Bene expresses it in one place, erroneously ascribing this view to the socialists. The socialists—unfortunately the author quotes Engels's relevant words rather incompletely—hold that the state will "wither away", will gradually "fall asleep" *after* the bourgeoisie has been expropriated.

b) "Social-Democracy, which is, or at least should be, the educator of the masses, must now more than ever emphasise its hostility to the state in principle The present war has shown how deeply the state idea has penetrated the souls of workers," writes Comrade Nota-Bene. In order to "emphasise" our "hostility" to the state "in principle" we must indeed understand it "clearly", and it is this clarity that our author lacks. His remark about the "state idea" is entirely muddled. It is un-Marxist and un-socialist. The point

is not that the "state idea" has clashed with the repudiation of the state, but that opportunist policy (i.e., the opportunist, reformist, bourgeois attitude towards the state) has clashed with revolutionary Social-Democratic policy (i.e., the revolutionary Social-Democratic attitude towards the bourgeois state and towards utilising it against the bourgeoisie to overthrow the bourgeoisie). These are entirely different things. We hope to return to this very important subject in a separate article.

3) The "declaration of principles of the International League of Socialist Youth Organisations", published in issue No. 6 as the "Secretariat's draft", contains not a few inaccuracies, and does not contain the *main* thing: a clear comparison of the *three* fundamental trends (social-chauvinism, "Centre" and Left) now contending against each other in the socialist movement of all countries.

We repeat, these errors must be refuted and explained. At the same time we must make every effort to find points of contact and closer relations with youth organisations and help them in every way, but we must find the *proper* manner to approach to them.

Published in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*
No 2, December 1916
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 23, pp. 163–166

Fourth Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees of Moscow

June 27 — July 2, 1918

REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE CURRENT SITUATION

June 28, 1918

(Extract)

Our position is made more difficult by the fact that the Russian revolution proved to be ahead of other revolutions; but the fact that we are not alone is proved by the news that reaches us nearly every day that the best German Social-Democrats are expressing themselves in favour of the Bolsheviks, that the Bolsheviks are being supported in the open German press by Clara Zetkin and also by Franz Mehring, who in a series of articles has been showing the German workers that the Bolsheviks alone have properly understood what socialism is. Recently a Social-Democrat named Hoschka definitely stated in the Württemberg Landtag that he regarded the Bolsheviks alone as models of

consistency in the pursuit of a correct revolutionary policy. Do you think that such statements do not find an echo among scores, hundreds and thousands of German workers who associate themselves with these statements almost before they are uttered? When affairs in Germany and Austria have reached the stage of the formation of *Arbeiterräte* and of a second mass strike, we can say without the least exaggeration, without the least self-deception, that this marks the beginning of a revolution. We say very definitely: Our policy and our path have been a correct policy and a correct path; we have helped the Austrian and the German workers to regard themselves, not as enemies strangling the Russian workers in the interests of the Kaiser, in the interests of the German capitalists, but as brothers of the Russian workers, who are performing the same revolutionary work as they are.

Brief reports published on June 28, 1918
in *Pravda* No. 130 and *Izvestia VTsIK*
No. 132

Full report published in 1918 in the book: *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 481—482
Minutes of the Fourth Conference of
Factory Committees and Trade Unions
of Moscow, A.C.C.T.U. Publishers

Letter to Sylvia Pankhurst

TO COMRADE SYLVIA PANKHURST, LONDON

Dear Comrade,

August 28, 1919

I received your letter of July 16, 1919, only yesterday. I am extremely grateful to you for the information about Britain and will try to fulfil your request, i.e., reply to your question.

I have no doubt at all that many workers who are among the best, most honest and sincerely revolutionary members of the proletariat are enemies of parliamentarism and of any participation in Parliament. The older capitalist culture and bourgeois democracy in any country, the more understandable this is, since the bourgeoisie in old parliamentary countries has excellently mastered the art of hypocrisy and of fooling the people in a thousand ways, passing off bourgeois parliamentarism as "democracy in general" or as "pure democracy" and so on, cunningly concealing the million threads which bind Parliament to the stock exchange and the capitalists, utilising a venal mercenary press and exercising the power of money, the power of capital in every way.

There is no doubt that the Communist International and the Communist Parties of the various countries would be making an irreparable mistake if

they repulsed those workers who stand for Soviet power, but who are against participation in the parliamentary struggle. If we take the problem in its general form, theoretically, then it is this very programme, i.e., the struggle for Soviet power, for the Soviet republic, which is able to unite, and today must certainly unite, all sincere, honest revolutionaries from among the workers. Very many anarchist workers are now becoming sincere supporters of Soviet power, and that being so, it proves them to be our best comrades and friends, the best of revolutionaries, who have been enemies of Marxism only through misunderstanding, or, more correctly, not through misunderstanding but because the official socialism prevailing in the epoch of the Second International (1889-1914) betrayed Marxism, lapsed into opportunism, perverted Marx's revolutionary teachings in general and his teachings on the lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871 in particular. I have written in detail about this in my book *The State and Revolution* and will therefore not dwell further on the problem.

What if in a certain country those who are Communists by their convictions and their readiness to carry on revolutionary work, sincere partisans of Soviet power (the "Soviet system", as non-Russians sometimes call it), cannot unite owing to disagreement over participation in Parliament?

I should consider such disagreement immaterial at present, since the struggle for Soviet power is the political struggle of the proletariat in its highest, most class-conscious, most revolutionary form. It is better to be with the revolutionary workers when they are mistaken over some partial or secondary question than with the "official" socialists or Social-Democrats, if the latter are not sincere, firm revolutionaries, and are unwilling or unable to conduct revolutionary work among the working masses, but pursue correct tactics in regard to that partial question. And the question of parliamentarism is now a partial, secondary question. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were, in my opinion, correct when they defended participation in the elections to the German bourgeois parliament, to the constituent National Assembly, at the January 1919 Conference of the Spartacists in Berlin, *against* the majority at the Conference. But, of course, they were still more correct when they preferred remaining with the Communist Party, which was making a partial mistake, to siding with the direct traitors to socialism, like Scheidemann and his party, or with those servile souls, doctrinaires, cowards, spineless accomplices of the bourgeoisie, and reformists in practice, such as Kautsky, Haase, Däumig and all this "party" of German "Independents".

I am personally convinced that to renounce participation in the parliamentary elections is a mistake on the part of the revolutionary workers of Britain, but better to make that mistake than to delay the formation of a big workers' Communist Party in Britain out of all the trends and elements, listed by you, which sympathise with Bolshevism and sincerely support the Soviet Republic. If, for example, among the B.S.P. there were sincere Bolsheviks who refused, because of differences over participation in Parliament, to merge at once in

a Communist Party with trends 4, 6 and 7, then these Bolsheviks, in my opinion, would be making a mistake a thousand times greater than the mistaken refusal to participate in elections to the British bourgeois parliament. In saying this I naturally assume that trends 4, 6 and 7, taken together, are really connected with the *mass* of the workers, and are not *merely* small intellectual groups, as is often the case in Britain. In this respect particular importance probably attaches to the Workers Committees and Shop Stewards,* which, one should imagine, are closely connected with the *masses*.

Unbreakable ties with the mass of the workers, the ability to agitate unceasingly among them, to participate in every strike, to respond to every demand of the masses—this is the chief thing for a Communist Party, especially in such a country as Britain, where until now (as incidentally is the case in all imperialist countries) participation in the socialist movement, and the labour movement generally has been confined chiefly to a thin top crust of workers, the labour aristocracy, most of whom are thoroughly and hopelessly spoiled by reformism and are held back by bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. Without a struggle against this stratum, without the destruction of every trace of its prestige among the workers, without convincing the masses of the utter bourgeois corruption of this stratum, there can be no question of a serious communist workers' movement. This applies to Britain, France, America and Germany.

Those working-class revolutionaries who make parliamentarism the centre of their attacks are quite right inasmuch as these attacks serve to express their denial in principle of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy. Soviet power, the Soviet republic—this is what the workers' revolution has put in place of bourgeois democracy, this is the form of transition from capitalism to socialism, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And criticism of parliamentarism is not only legitimate and necessary, as giving the case for the transition to Soviet power, but is quite correct, as being the recognition of the historically conditional and limited character of parliamentarism, its connection with capitalism and capitalism alone, of its progressive character as compared with the Middle Ages, and of its *reactionary character as compared with Soviet power*.

But the critics of parliamentarism in Europe and America, when they are anarchists or anarcho-syndicalists, are very often wrong insofar as they reject *all participation* in elections and parliamentary activity. Here they simply show their lack of revolutionary experience. We Russians, who have lived through two great revolutions in the twentieth century, are well aware what importance parliamentarism can have, and actually does have during a revolutionary period in general and *in the very midst of a revolution* in particular. Bourgeois parliaments must be abolished and replaced by Soviet bodies. There is no doubt about that. There is no doubt now, after the experience of Russia, Hungary,

* These words are in English in the original.—Ed.

Germany and other countries, that this *absolutely must take place* during a proletarian revolution. Therefore, systematically to prepare the working masses for this, to explain to them in advance the importance of Soviet power, to conduct propaganda and agitation for it—all this is the *absolute* duty of the worker who wants to be a revolutionary in deeds. But we Russians fulfilled *that* task, operating in the parliamentary arena, *too*. In the tsarist, fake, landowners' Duma our representatives knew how to carry on revolutionary and republican propaganda. In just the same way *Soviet propaganda* can and must be *carried on* in and from within bourgeois parliaments.

Perhaps that will not be easy to achieve at once in this or that parliamentary country. But that is another question. Steps must be taken to ensure that these correct tactics are mastered by the revolutionary workers in all countries. And if the workers' party is really *revolutionary*, if it is really a *workers'* party (that is, connected with the masses, with the majority of the working people, with the *rank and file* of the proletariat and not merely with its top crust), if it is really a *party*, i.e., a firmly, effectively knit *organisation of the revolutionary vanguard*, which knows how to carry on revolutionary work among the masses by all possible means, then such a party will surely be able to keep *its own* parliamentarians in hand, to make of them real revolutionary propagandists, such as Karl Liebknecht was, and not opportunists, not those who corrupt the proletariat with bourgeois methods, bourgeois customs, bourgeois ideas or bourgeois poverty of ideas.

If that failed to be achieved in Britain at once, if, in addition, no union of the supporters of Soviet power proved possible in Britain because of a difference over parliamentarism and only because of that, then I should consider a good step forward to complete unity the immediate formation of *two* Communist Parties, i.e., two parties which stand for the transition from bourgeois parliamentarism to Soviet power. Let one of these parties recognise participation in the bourgeois parliament, and the other reject it; this disagreement is now so immaterial that the most reasonable thing would be not to split over it. But even the joint existence of two such parties would be immense progress as compared with the present situation, would most likely be a transition to complete unity and the speedy victory of communism.

Soviet power in Russia has not only shown by the experience of almost two years that the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible *even* in a peasant country and is capable, by creating a strong army (the best proof that organisation and order prevail), of holding out in unbelievably, exceptionally difficult conditions.

Soviet power has done more: it has already achieved a moral victory *throughout* the world, for the working masses everywhere, although they get only tiny fragments of the truth about Soviet power, although they hear thousands and millions of false reports about Soviet power, *are already in favour of Soviet power*. It is already understood by the proletariat of the whole world that this power is the power of the working people, that it alone is salvation

from capitalism, from the yoke of capital, from wars between the imperialists, that it leads to lasting peace.

That is why defeats of individual Soviet republics by the imperialists are possible, but it is impossible to conquer the world Soviet movement of the proletariat.

With communist greetings,

N. Lenin

Published in September 1919
in the magazine *Communist International*,
N 5

Collected Works, Vol. 29, pp. 561—566

Greetings to Italian, French and German Communists

Scant indeed is the news we get from abroad. The blockade by the imperialist beasts is in full swing; the violence of the biggest world powers is turned against us in the hope of restoring the rule of the exploiters. And all this bestial fury of the Russian and world capitalists is cloaked, needless to say, in phrases about the lofty significance of "democracy"! The exploiter camp is true to itself; it depicts bourgeois democracy as "democracy" in general. And all the philistines and petty bourgeois, down to Friedrich Adler, Karl Kautsky and the majority of the leaders of the Independent (that is, independent of the revolutionary proletariat but dependent on petty-bourgeois prejudices) Social-Democratic Party of Germany, join in the chorus.

But the more infrequently we in Russia receive news from abroad, the greater the joy with which we follow the gigantic, universal advance of communism among the workers in all the countries of the world, the successful severance of the masses from the corrupt and treacherous leaders who, from Scheidemann to Kautsky, have gone over to the bourgeoisie.

All that we know of the Italian Party is that its Congress has resolved by a huge majority to affiliate to the Third International and to adopt the programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, the Italian Socialist Party has, in practice, aligned itself with communism, though to our regret it still retains its old name. Warm greetings to the Italian workers and their party!

All that we know of France is that in Paris alone there are already two communist newspapers: *L'Internationale* edited by Raymond Péricat, and *Le Titre censuré* edited by Georges Anquetil. A number of proletarian organisations have already affiliated to the Third International. The sympathies of the workers are undoubtedly on the side of communism and Soviet power.

Of the German Communists we know only that communist newspapers are published in a number of towns. Many bear the name *Die Rote Fahne*.

The Berlin *Rote Fahne*, an illegal publication, is battling heroically against the Scheidemanns and Noskes, the butchers who play flunkey to the bourgeoisie in deeds, just as the Independents do in words and in their "ideological" (petty-bourgeois ideological) propaganda.

The heroic struggle of *Die Rote Fahne*, the Berlin communist paper, evokes whole-hearted admiration. At last we see in Germany honest and sincere socialists, who, despite all persecution, despite the foul murder of their best leaders, have remained firm and unbending! At last we see in Germany communist workers who are waging a heroic struggle that really deserves to be called "revolutionary"! At last there has emerged from the very midst of the proletarian masses in Germany a force for which the words "proletarian revolution" have become a *truth*!

Greetings to the German Communists!

The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Renners and Freidrich Adlers, great as the difference between these gentlemen in the sense of personal integrity may probably be, have in equal measure proved to be petty-bourgeois, most shameful traitors to and betrayers of socialism, supporters of the bourgeoisie. For in 1912 all of them took part in drafting and signing the Basle manifesto on the approaching imperialist war, all of them spoke then about "*proletarian revolution*", and all of them proved in practice to be petty-bourgeois democrats, knights of philistine-republican, bourgeois-democratic illusions, accomplices of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The savage persecution to which the German Communists have been subjected has strengthened them. If at the moment they are somewhat disunited, this testifies to the breadth and mass character of their movement, to the vigour with which communism is growing out of the very midst of the masses of workers. It is inevitable that a movement so ruthlessly persecuted by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and their Scheidemann-Noske henchmen and forced to organise illegally should be disunited.

And it is natural, too, that a movement which is growing so rapidly and experiencing such desperate persecution should give rise to rather sharp differences. There is nothing terrible in that; it is a matter of growing pains.

Let the Scheidemanns and Kautskys gloat in their *Vorwärts* and *Freiheit* about the differences among the Communists. There is nothing left for these heroes of rotten philistinism but to cover up their rottenness by pointing to the Communists. But if we take the real state of affairs we realise that only the blind can now fail to see the truth. And the truth is that the followers of Scheidemann and Kautsky have shamelessly *betrayed* the proletarian revolution in Germany, *broken faith with it* and have, *in fact*, sided with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. Heinrich Laufenberg in his excellent pamphlet, *From the First Revolution to the Second*, demonstrated this and proved it with remarkable force, vividness, clarity and conviction. The differences among the followers of Scheidemann and Kautsky are differences within disintegrating, dying parties of which there remain only leaders without masses, generals without

armies. The masses are abandoning the Scheidemanns and going over to the Kautskys, being attracted by their Left wing (this is borne out by any report of a mass meeting), and this Left wing combines—in unprincipled and cowardly fashion—the old prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie about parliamentary democracy with communist recognition of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power.

Under mass pressure, the rotten leaders of the Independents acknowledge all this *in words*, but in deeds they remain petty-bourgeois democrats, “socialists” of the type of Louis Blanc and the other dolts of 1848 who were so mercilessly ridiculed and branded by Marx.

Here we have differences that are really irreconcilable. There can be no peace, no joint work, between the proletarian revolutionaries and the philistines, who, like those of 1848, worship at the shrine of bourgeois “democracy” without understanding its bourgeois nature. Haase and Kautsky, Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer can twist and squirm as much as they like, use up reams of paper and make endless speeches, but they cannot get away from the fact that *in practice* they absolutely fail to understand the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power, that *in practice* they are petty-bourgeois democrats, “socialists” of the Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin type, that *in practice* they are, at best, puppets in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and, at worst, direct hirelings of the bourgeoisie.

The Independents, the Kautskyites and the Austrian Social-Democrats *seem* to be united parties; actually, on the basic, chief and most essential issue, most of their party members do *not* agree with the leaders. The party membership *will wage* a proletarian revolutionary struggle for Soviet power the very moment a new crisis sets in, and the “leaders” will act as counter-revolutionaries as they do now. To sit between two stools is not a difficult matter in words; Hilferding in Germany and Friedrich Adler in Austria are giving a model display of this noble art.

But people who try to reconcile the irreconcilable will prove to be mere soap-bubbles in the heat of the revolutionary struggle. This was demonstrated by all the “socialist” heroes of 1848, by their Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary kindred in Russia in 1917-19, and is being demonstrated by all the knights of the Berne, or yellow, Second International.

The differences among the Communists are of another kind. Only those who do not want to see cannot grasp the fundamental distinction. The differences among the Communists are differences between representatives of a mass movement that has grown with incredible rapidity; and the Communists have a single, common, granite-like foundation—recognition of the proletarian revolution and of the struggle against bourgeois-democratic illusions and bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism, and recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power.

On *such* a basis differences are nothing to worry about, they represent growing pains, not senile decay. Bolshevism, too, has experienced differences of

this kind more than once, as well as minor breakaways caused by such differences, but at the decisive moment, at the moment of taking power and establishing the Soviet Republic, Bolshevism was united; it drew to itself all that was best in the trends of socialist thought akin to it and rallied round itself the *entire* vanguard of the proletariat and the *overwhelming* majority of the working people.

And so it will be with the German Communists, too.

The followers of Scheidemann and Kautsky still talk about "democracy" in general, they still live in the ideas of 1848, they are Marxists in words, Louis Blancs in deeds. They prattle about the "majority" and believe that equality of ballot-papers signifies equality of exploited and exploiter, of worker and capitalist, of poor and rich, of the hungry and the satiated.

The Scheidemanns and the Kautskys would have us believe that the kind-hearted, honest, noble, peace-loving capitalists have never used the force of wealth, the force of money, the power of capital, the oppression of bureaucracy and military dictatorship, but have decided matters truly "by majority"!

The Scheidemanns and the Kautskys (partly from hypocrisy, partly from extreme stupidity, instilled by decades of reformist activity) *prettify* bourgeois democracy, bourgeois parliamentarism and the bourgeois republic, so as to make it appear that the capitalists decide affairs of state by the will of the majority, and not by the will of capital, not by means of deception and oppression and the violence of the rich against the poor.

The Scheidemanns and Kautskys are ready to "recognise" the proletarian revolution, but only with the proviso that first, while the force, power, oppression and privileges of capital and wealth *are retained*, the majority of the people shall vote (with the voting supervised by the bourgeois apparatus of state power) "*for revolution*"! It is difficult to imagine the extent of the philistine stupidity displayed in these views, or the extent of the philistine gullibility (*Vertrauensduselei*) in the capitalists, in the bourgeoisie, in the generals, and in the bourgeois apparatus of state power.

Actually, it is precisely the bourgeoisie that has always played the hypocrite by characterising formal equality as "democracy", and in practice using force against the poor, the working people, the small peasants and the workers, by employing countless means of deception, oppression, etc. The imperialist war (that the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys painted in shamelessly bright colours) has made this plain to millions of people. Proletarian dictatorship is the *sole* means of defending the working people against the oppression of capital, the violence of bourgeois military dictatorship, and imperialist war. Proletarian dictatorship is the sole step to equality and democracy *in practice*, not on paper, but in life, not in political phrase-mongering, but in economic reality.

Having failed to understand this, the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys proved to be contemptible traitors to socialism and defenders of the ideas of the bourgeoisie.

The Kautskyite (or Independent) party is dying. It is bound to die and disintegrate soon as a result of the differences between its predominantly revolutionary membership and its counter-revolutionary "leaders".

The Communist Party, experiencing exactly the same (essentially the same) differences as were experienced by Bolshevism, will grow stronger and become as hard as steel.

The differences among the German Communists boil down, so far as I can judge, to the question of "utilising the legal possibilities" (as the Bolsheviks used to say in the 1910-13 period), of utilising the bourgeois parliament, the reactionary trade unions, the "works' councils law" (*Betriebsratgesetz*), bodies that have been hamstrung by the Scheidemanns and Kautskys; it is a question of whether to participate in such bodies or boycott them.

We Russian Bolsheviks experienced quite similar differences in 1906 and in the 1910-12 period. And for us it is clear that with many of the young German Communists it is simply a case of a lack of revolutionary experience. Had they experienced a couple of bourgeois revolutions (1905 and 1917), they would not be advocating the boycott so unconditionally, nor fall from time to time into the mistakes of syndicalism.

This is a matter of growing pains; the movement is developing in fine style and as it grows they will pass. And these obvious mistakes must be combated openly; the differences must not be exaggerated since it must be clear to everyone that in the near future the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Soviet power, will wipe out the greater part of them.

Both from the standpoint of Marxist theory and the experience of three revolutions (1905, February 1917 and October 1917) I regard refusal to participate in a bourgeois parliament, in a reactionary (Legien, Gompers, etc.) trade union, in an ultra-reactionary workers' council hamstrung by the Scheidemanns, etc., as an undoubted mistake.

At times, in individual cases, in individual countries, the boycott is correct, as, for example, was the Bolshevik boycott of the tsarist Duma in 1905. But the selfsame Bolsheviks took part in the much more reactionary and downright counter-revolutionary Duma of 1907. The Bolsheviks contested the elections to the bourgeois Constituent Assembly in 1917, and in 1918 we dispersed it, to the horror of the philistine democrats, the Kautskys and other such renegades from socialism. We worked in the ultra-reactionary, purely Menshevik, trade unions which (in their counter-revolutionary nature) yielded nothing to the Legien unions—the foulest and most reactionary trade unions in Germany. Even now, two years after the conquest of state power, we have not yet finished fighting the remnants of the Menshevik (i.e., the Scheidemann, Kautsky, Gompers, etc.) trade unions—so long is the process! So strong in some places and in some trades is the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas!

At one time we were in a minority in the Soviets, the trade unions and the co-operatives. By persistent effort and long struggle—both *before and after* the conquest of political power—we won a majority, first in *all workers' organis-*

ations, then in non-worker and, finally, even in small-peasant organisations.

Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must first win a majority in elections carried out *under the yoke of the bourgeoisie*, under the *yoke of wage-slavery*, and must then win power. This is the height of stupidity or hypocrisy; it is substituting elections, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution.

The proletariat wages its class struggle and does not wait for elections to begin a strike, although for the complete success of a strike it is necessary to have the sympathy of the majority of the working people (and, it follows, of the majority of the population); the proletariat wages its class struggle and overthrows the bourgeoisie without waiting for any preliminary elections (supervised by the bourgeoisie and carried out under its yoke); and the proletariat is perfectly well aware that for the success of its revolution, for the successful overthrow of the bourgeoisie, it is *absolutely necessary* to have the sympathy of the majority of the working people (and, it follows, of the majority of the population).

The parliamentary cretins and latter-day Louis Blancs "insist" absolutely on elections, on elections that are most certainly supervised by the bourgeoisie, to ascertain whether they have the sympathy of the majority of the working people. But this is the attitude of pedants, of living corpses, or of sunning tricksters.

Real life and the history of actual revolutions show that quite often the "sympathy of the majority of the working people" cannot be demonstrated by any elections (to say nothing of elections supervised by the exploiters, with "equality" of exploiters and exploited!). Quite often the "sympathy of the majority of the working people" is demonstrated *not* by elections at all, but by the growth of one of the parties, or by its increased representation in the Soviets, or by the success of a strike which for some reason has acquired enormous significance, or by successes won in civil war, etc., etc.

The history of our revolution has shown, for example, that sympathy for the dictatorship of the proletariat on the part of the majority of the working people in the boundless expanses of the Urals and Siberia was ascertained not by means of elections, but by the experience of a year of the tsarist general Kolchak's rule in that area. Incidentally, Kolchak's rule also began with a "coalition" of the Scheidemann and Kautsky crowd (in Russian they are called Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, supporters of the Constituent Assembly), just as in Germany at the moment the Haases and Scheidemanns, through their "coalition", are paving the way to power for von Goltz or Ludendorff and covering up this power and making it look decent. In parenthesis it should be said that the Haase-Scheidemann coalition in the government has ended, but the political coalition of these betrayers of socialism remains. Proof: Kautsky's books, Stampfer's articles in *Vorwärts*, the articles by the Kautskys and the Scheidemanns about their "unification", and so on.

The proletarian revolution is impossible without the sympathy and support of the overwhelming majority of the working people for their vanguard—the

proletariat. But this sympathy and this support are not forthcoming immediately and are not decided by elections. They are *won* in the course of long, arduous and stern class struggle. The class struggle waged by the proletariat *for* the sympathy and support of the majority of the working people does not end with the conquest of political power by the proletariat. *After* the conquest of power this struggle *continues*, but in *other* forms. In the Russian revolution the circumstances were exceptionally favourable for the proletariat (in its struggle for its dictatorship), since the proletarian revolution took place at a time when all the people were under arms and when the peasantry as a whole, disgusted by the "Kautskyite" policy of the social-traitors, the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, wanted the overthrow of the rule of the landowners.

But even in Russia, where things were exceptionally favourable at the moment of the proletarian revolution, where a most remarkable unity of the entire proletariat, the entire army and the entire peasantry was achieved at once—even in Russia, the proletariat, exercising its dictatorship, had to struggle for months and years to win the sympathy and support of the majority of the working people. After two years this struggle has practically, but still not completely, ended in favour of the proletariat. In two years we have won the full sympathy and support of the overwhelming majority of the workers and labouring peasants of Great Russia, including the Urals and Siberia, but as yet we have not won the full support and sympathy of the majority of the working peasants (as distinct from the peasant exploiters) of the Ukraine. We *could* be (but shall not be) crushed by the military might of the Entente, but *inside* Russia we *now* have such sound sympathy, and from such an enormous majority of the working people, that our state is the most democratic state the world has ever seen.

One has only to give some thought to this complex, difficult and long history of proletarian struggle for power—a struggle rich in the extraordinary variety of forms and in the unusual abundance of sharp changes, turns and switches from one form to another—to see clearly the error of those who would "forbid" participation in bourgeois parliaments, reactionary trade unions, tsarist or Scheidemann Shop Stewards Committees or works' councils, and so on and so forth. This error is due to the lack of revolutionary experience among quite sincere, convinced and valiant working-class revolutionaries. Consequently, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were a thousand times right in January 1919 when they realised this mistake, pointed it out, but nevertheless chose to remain with the proletarian revolutionaries, mistaken though they were on a minor question, rather than side with the traitors to socialism, the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, who made no mistake on the question of participating in bourgeois parliaments, but had ceased to be socialists and had become philistine democrats and accomplices of the bourgeoisie.

A mistake, however, remains a mistake and it is necessary to criticise it and fight for its rectification.

The fight against the traitors to socialism, the Scheidemanns and the

Kautskys, must be waged mercilessly, but not on the issue of for or against participation in bourgeois parliaments, reactionary trade unions, etc. This would be an obvious mistake, and a bigger mistake still would be to retreat from the ideas of Marxism and its practical line (a strong, centralised political party) to the ideas and practice of syndicalism. It is necessary to work for the Party's participation in bourgeois parliaments, in reactionary trade unions and in "works' councils" that have been mutilated and castrated in Scheidemann fashion, for the Party to be wherever workers are to be found, wherever it is possible to talk to workers, to influence the working masses. Legal and illegal work must at all costs be combined, the illegal Party, through its *worker's* organisations, must exercise systematic, constant and strict control over legal activity. This is no easy matter, but the proletarian revolution, generally speaking, knows nothing and can know nothing of "easy" tasks or "easy" means of struggle.

This difficult task must be carried out at all costs. The Scheidemann and Kautsky gang differ from us not only (and not chiefly) because they do not recognise the armed uprising and we do. The chief and radical difference is that in *all* spheres of work (in bourgeois parliaments, trade unions, cooperatives, journalistic work, etc.) they pursue an inconsistent, opportunist policy, even a policy of downright treachery and betrayal.

Fight against the social-traitors, against reformism and opportunism—this political line can and must be followed without exception in *all* spheres of our struggle. And then we shall win the working masses. And the vanguard of the proletariat, the Marxist centralised political party together with the working masses, will take the people along the true road to the triumph of proletarian dictatorship, to proletarian instead of bourgeois democracy, to the Soviet Republic, to the socialist system.

In the space of a few months the Third International has won a number of glorious, unprecedented victories. The speed of its growth is astonishing. Particular mistakes and growing pains give no grounds for alarm. By criticising them directly and openly, we shall ensure that the working masses of all cultured countries, educated in the spirit of Marxism, quickly rid themselves of the betrayers of socialism, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys of *all* nations (for these traitors are to be found in all nations).

The victory of communism is inevitable. Communism will triumph.

N. Lenin

October 10, 1919

Published in October 1919

Collected Works, Vol. 30, p. 52—62

A Publicist's Notes

(Extract)

Citizen Jean Longuet has sent me a letter consisting mainly of the same complaints as those contained in his article, "How Are the Russians Deceived?" (*Populaire*, January 10, 1920.) Longuet has also sent me this issue of his newspaper together with a leaflet of the Committee for the Reconstruction of the International (Comité pour la reconstruction de l'Internationale). The leaflet contains two draft resolutions for the forthcoming congress of the French Socialist Party in Strasbourg. It is signed on behalf of the Committee for the Reconstruction of the International by 24 persons: Amédée Dunios, Citizeness Fanny Clar, Caussy, Maurice Delépine, Paul Faure, Ludovic-Oscar Frossard, Eugène Frot, Henri Gourdeaux, Citizeness Leyciagnre, André Le Troguer, Paul Louis, Jena Longuet, Maurice Maurin, Barthélemy Mayéras, Joan Mouret, Georges Mauranges, Palicot, Pécher, Citizeness Marianne Rauze, Daniel Renault, Servantier, Sixte Quenin, Tommasi, Raoul Verfeuil.

It seems to me superfluous to reply to Jean Longuet's complaints and attacks: adequate replies have been given in F. Lorient's article in *Vie Ouvrière* of January 16, 1920, entitled "Gently, Longuet!" ("Tout doux, Longuet!"), and in Trotsky's article in the *Communist International* No. 7-8, entitled "Jean Longuet". Very little remains to be added; perhaps only that it would be a good thing to collect material for a history of the failure of the strike of July 21, 1919. But I cannot do this from Moscow. All I have seen is a quotation from *Avanti!* published in an Austrian Communist paper, exposing the despicable role played in this affair by one of the most despicable of the social-traitors (or anarcho-traitors?), the former syndicalist and anti-parliamentary windbag, Jouhaux. Why should not Longuet give somebody the job, which can be easily done in Paris, of collecting all the documents, all the comments and articles in the European Communist papers, and all the special interviews with the leaders and participants concerned, on the failure of the strike of July 21, 1919? We would be delighted to publish such a work. The "socialist education" about which the "Centrists" of the whole world (the Independents in Germany, the Longuetists in France, the I.L.P. in Britain, etc.) talk so often and so readily must be understood to mean the firm *exposure of the mistakes* of the leaders and the mistakes of the movement and not the pedantic and doctrinaire repetition of general socialist phrases, which everybody is tired of hearing and which, since 1914-18, nobody trusts.

An example of this—all the leaders and all the prominent members of the socialist parties, the trade unions and the workers' co-operative societies who advocated the "defence of the fatherland" in the war of 1914-18, acted as

traitors to socialism. The real work of "socialist education" implies the persistent exposure of their mistake, the systematic explanation that this war was, in respect of *both* sides, a war between bandits for the division of the spoils, and that a repetition of such a war is *inevitable* unless the proletariat overthrows the bourgeoisie by revolutionary means.

The resolutions I have referred to speak about such work of education, but what is actually being done is a work of socialist corruption, for treason, treachery, routine, inertia, careerism, philistinism and mistakes are hushed up, whereas real education consists in overcoming and removing them.

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Collected Works, Vol. 30, pp. 352—353

Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International

(Extract)

II WHAT IMMEDIATE AND UNIVERSAL PREPARATION FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT SHOULD CONSIST IN

12. In all countries, even in those that are freest, most "legal", and most "peaceful" in the sense that the class struggle is least acute there, it is now absolutely indispensable for every Communist Party to systematically combine legal and illegal work, legal and illegal organisations. Notwithstanding their false and hypocritical declarations, the governments of even the most enlightened and freest of countries, where the bourgeois-democratic system is most "stable", are already systematically and secretly drawing up blacklists of Communists and constantly violating their own constitutions so as to give secret or semi-secret encouragement to the whiteguards and to the murder of Communists in all countries, making secret preparations for the arrest of Communists, planting *agents provocateurs* among the Communists, etc., etc., Only a most reactionary philistine, no matter what cloak of fine "democratic" and pacifist phrases he may don, will deny this fact or the conclusion that of necessity follows from it, viz., that all legal Communist parties must immediately form illegal organisations for the systematic conduct of illegal work and for complete preparations for the moment the bourgeoisie resorts to persecution. Illegal work is most necessary in the army, the navy and the police because, since the imperialist holocaust, governments the world over have begun to stand in dread of people's armies which are open to the workers and peasants, and are

secretly resorting to all kinds of methods to set up military units specially recruited from the bourgeoisie and equipped with the most up-to-date weapons.

On the other hand, it is likewise necessary that, in all cases without exception, the parties should not restrict themselves to illegal work, but should conduct legal work as well, overcoming all obstacles, starting legal publications, and forming legal organisations under the most varied names, which should be frequently changed if necessary. This is being practised by the illegal Communist parties in Finland, Hungary, partly in Germany, Poland, Latvia, etc. It should be practised by the Industrial Workers of the World in the U.S.A. and by all Communist parties at present legal, should public prosecutors see fit to take proceedings against them on the grounds of resolutions adopted by Congresses of the Communist International, etc.

A combination of illegal and legal work is an absolute principle dictated, not only by all features of the present period, that of the eve of the proletarian dictatorship, but also by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie that there is not, nor can there be, any sphere of activity that cannot be won by the Communists; above all, it is dictated by the fact that broad strata of the proletariat and even broader strata of the non-proletarian toiling and exploited masses still exist everywhere, who continue to believe in bourgeois-democratic legality and whom we must undecieve without fail.

13. In particular, the conditions of the working-class press in most advanced capitalist countries strikingly reveal the utter fraudulency of liberty and equality under bourgeois democracy, as well as the necessity of systematically combining legal work with illegal work. Both in vanquished Germany and in victorious America, the entire power of the bourgeoisie's machinery of state and all the machinations of the financial magnates are employed to deprive the workers of their press, these including legal proceedings, the arrest (or murder by hired assassins) of editors, denial of mailing privileges, the cutting off of paper supplies and so on and so forth. Besides, the news services essential to daily newspapers are run by bourgeois telegraph agencies, while advertisements, without which a large newspaper cannot pay its way, depend on the "good will" of the capitalists. To sum up: through skulduggery and the pressure of capital and the bourgeois state, the bourgeoisie is depriving the revolutionary proletariat of its press.

To combat this, the Communist parties must create a new type of periodical press for mass distribution among the workers: first, legal publications, which, without calling themselves communist and without publicising their links with the Party, must learn to make use of any legal opportunity, however slight, just as the Bolsheviks did under the tsar, after 1905; secondly, illegal leaflets, even the briefest and published at irregular intervals, but reprinted at numerous printshops by workers (secretly, or, if the movement has become strong enough, by the revolutionary seizure of printshops), and providing the proletariat with outspoken revolutionary information and revolutionary slogans.

Preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without

a revolutionary struggle, into which the masses are drawn, for the freedom of the communist press.

III RECTIFICATION OF THE POLITICAL LINE—PARTLY ALSO OF THE COMPOSITION—OF PARTIES AFFILIATED OR DESIRING TO AFFILIATE TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

14. The measure in which the proletariat in countries most important from the viewpoint of world economics and politics is prepared to establish its dictatorship can be seen with the greatest objectivity and precision in the fact that the most influential parties of the Second International, viz., the French Socialist Party, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain and the Socialist Party of America, have withdrawn from this yellow International, and have decided—the first three conditionally, the latter even unconditionally—to affiliate to the Third International. This proves that not only the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat but its majority too have begun to come over to our side, convinced by the entire course of events. The main thing now is the ability to consummate this process and to consolidate firmly in point of organisation what has been achieved, so as to advance all along the line, without the slightest wavering.

15. All the activities of the parties mentioned (to which should be added the Socialist Party of Switzerland, if the telegraph reports of its decision to join the Third International are true) show—as any periodical of these parties will strikingly confirm—that they are not yet communist, and quite often run directly counter to the fundamental principles of the Third International, viz., the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet government in place of bourgeois democracy.

Accordingly, the Second Congress of the Communist International must resolve that it cannot immediately accept the affiliation of these parties; that it endorses the reply given by the Executive Committee of the Third International to the German “Independents”, that it confirms its readiness to conduct negotiations with any party that withdraws from the Second International and desires to enter into closer relations with the Third International; that it will admit the delegates of such parties in a deliberative capacity to all its congresses and conferences; that it sets the following conditions for the complete adhesion of these (and similar), parties with the Communist International:

1) All decisions of all Congresses of the Communist International and of its Executive Committee to be published in all the periodicals of the parties concerned;

2) These decisions to be discussed at special meetings of all sections or local organisations of the parties;

3) After such discussion, special congresses of the parties to be convened to sum up the results, and for the purpose of—

4) Purging the parties of elements that continue to act in the spirit of the Second International;

5) All periodical publications of the parties to be placed under exclusively Communist editorship.

The Second Congress of the Third International should instruct its Executive Committee formally to accept these and similar parties into the Third International after ascertaining that all these conditions have actually been met and that the activities of the parties have assumed a communist character.

16. As to the question of the conduct of Communists now holding a minority of the responsible posts in these and similar parties, the Second Congress of the Communist International should resolve that, in view of the obvious growth of sincere sympathy for communism among workingmen belonging to these parties, it would be undesirable for Communists to resign from the latter, as long as they can carry on work within them for the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet government, and as long as it is possible to criticise the opportunists and Centrists who still remain in these parties.

At the same time, the Second Congress of the Third International should declare in favour of Communist groups and organisations, or groups and organisations sympathising with communism, joining the Labour Party in Great Britain, despite its membership in the Second International. As long as this party ensures its affiliated organisations their present freedom of criticism and freedom to carry on work of propaganda, agitation and organisation in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet government, and as long as this party preserves the character of a federation of all trade union organisations of the working class, it is imperative for Communists to do everything and to make certain compromises in order to be able to exercise their influence on the broadest masses of the workers, to expose their opportunist leaders from a higher tribune, that is in fuller view of the masses, and to hasten the transfer of political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class", so that the masses may be more quickly weaned away from their last illusions on this score.

17. Concerning the Socialist Party of Italy, the Second Congress of the Third International considers that the criticism of that party and the practical proposals submitted to the National Council of the Socialist Party of Italy in the name of the party's Turin section, as set forth in *L'Ordine Nuovo* of May 8, 1920, are in the main correct and are fully in keeping with the fundamental principles of the Third International.

Accordingly, the Second Congress of the Third International requests the Socialist Party of Italy to convene a special congress to discuss these proposals and also all the decisions of the two Congresses of the Communist International for the purpose of rectifying the party's line and of purging it, particularly its parliamentary group, of non-Communist elements.

18. The Second Congress of the Third International considers erroneous the views on the Party's relation to the class and to the masses, and the view that it is not obligatory for Communist parties to participate in bourgeois parliaments and in reactionary trade unions. These views have been refuted in detail in special decisions of the present Congress, and advocated most fully by the Communist Workers' Party of Germany, and partly by the Communist Party of Switzerland, by *Kommunismus*, organ of the East-European Secretariat of the Communist International in Vienna, by the now dissolved secretariat in Amsterdam, by several Dutch comrades, by several Communist organisations in Great Britain, as, for example, the Workers' Socialist Federation, etc., and also by the Industrial Workers of the World in the U.S.A. and the Shop Stewards' Committees in Great Britain, etc.

Nevertheless, the Second Congress of the Third International considers it possible and desirable that those of the above-mentioned organisations which have not yet officially affiliated to the Communist International should do so immediately; for in the present instance, particularly as regards the Industrial Workers of the World in the U.S.A. and Australia, as well as the Shop Stewards' Committees in Great Britain, we are dealing with a profoundly proletarian and mass movement, which in all essentials actually stands by the basic principles of the Communist International. The erroneous views held by these organisations regarding participation in bourgeois parliaments can be explained, not so much by the influence of elements coming from the bourgeoisie, who bring their essentially petty-bourgeois views into the movement—views such as anarchists often hold—as by the political inexperience of proletarians who are quite revolutionary and connected with the masses.

For this reason, the Second Congress of the Third International requests all Communist organisations and groups in the Anglo-Saxon countries, even if the Industrial Workers of the World and the Shop Stewards' Committees do not immediately affiliate to the Third International, to pursue a very friendly policy towards these organisations, to establish closer contacts with them and the masses that sympathise with them, and to explain to them in a friendly spirit—on the basis of the experience of all revolutions, and particularly of the three Russian revolutions of the twentieth century—the erroneousness of their views as set forth above, and not to desist from further efforts to amalgamate with these organisations to form a single Communist party.

19. In this connection, the Congress draws the attention of all comrades, particularly in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries, to the fact that, since the war, a profound ideological division has been taking place among anarchists all over the world regarding the attitude to be adopted towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet government. Moreover, a proper understanding of these principles is particularly to be seen among proletarian elements that have often been impelled towards anarchism by a perfectly legitimate hatred of the opportunism and reformism of the parties of the Second International. That understanding is growing the more widespread among them, the more

familiar they become with the experience of Russia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Poland and Germany.

The Congress therefore considers it the duty of all Communists to do everything to help all proletarian mass elements to abandon anarchism and come over to the side of the Third International. The Congress points out that the measure in which genuinely Communist parties succeed in winning mass proletarian elements rather than intellectual, and petty-bourgeois elements away from anarchism, is a criterion of the success of those Parties.

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The Second Congress of the Communist International

July 19 — August 7, 1920

SPEECH ON AFFILIATION TO THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

August 6

(Extract)

I, too, can certify that I have seen in *The Call*, organ of the British Socialist Party, statements that the Labour Party leaders are social-patriots and social-traitors. This shows that a party affiliated to the Labour Party is able, not only to severely criticise but openly and specifically to mention the old leaders by name, and call them social-traitors. This is a very original situation: a party which unites enormous masses of workers, so that it might seem a political party, is nevertheless obliged to grant its members complete latitude. Comrade McLaine has told us here that, at the Labour Party Conference, the British Scheidemanns were obliged to openly raise the question of affiliation to the Third International, and that all party branches and sections were obliged to discuss the matter. In such circumstances, it would be a mistake not to join this party.

In a private talk, Comrade Pankhurst said to me: "If we are real revolutionaries and join the Labour Party, these gentlemen will expel us." But that would not be bad at all. Our resolution says that we favour affiliation insofar as the Labour Party permits sufficient freedom of criticism. On that point we are absolutely consistent. Comrade McLaine has emphasised that the conditions now prevailing in Britain are such that, should it so desire, a political party may remain a revolutionary workers' party even if it is connected with a special kind of labour organisation of four million members, which is half

trade union and half political and is headed by bourgeois leaders. In such circumstances it would be highly erroneous for the best revolutionary elements not to do everything possible to remain in such a party. Let the Thomases and other social-traitors, whom you have called by that name, expel you. That will have an excellent effect upon the mass of the British workers.

First published in full in 1921
in the book *The Second Congress
of the Communist International.
Verbatim Report*. Published by the
Communist International, Petrograd

Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 260—261

The Terms of Admission into the Communist International

(Extracts)

1. Day-by-day propaganda and agitation must be genuinely communist in character. All press organs belonging to the parties must be edited by reliable Communists who have given proof of their devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be discussed merely as a stock phrase to be learned by rote; it should be popularised in such a way that the practical facts systematically dealt with in our press day by day will drive home to every rank-and-file working man and working woman, every soldier and peasant, that it is indispensable to them. Third International supporters should use all media to which they have access—the press, public meetings, trade unions, and co-operative societies—to expose systematically and relentlessly, not only the bourgeoisie but also its accomplices—the reformists of every shade . . .

12. The periodical and non-periodical press, and all publishing enterprises, must likewise be fully subordinate to the Party Central Committee, whether the party as a whole is legal or illegal at the time. Publishing enterprises should not be allowed to abuse their autonomy and pursue any policies that are not in full accord with that of the Party.

Published in July 1920

Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 207, 210

Kommunismus

**JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL FOR THE
COUNTRIES OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE (IN GERMAN), VIENNA,
No. 1-2 (February 1, 1920) to No. 18 (May 8, 1920)**

This excellent journal, which is published in Vienna under the above title, contains a great deal of highly interesting material on the growth of the communist movement in Austria, Poland and other countries, together with a chronicle of the international movement, and articles on Hungary and Germany, on general tasks and tactics, etc. A shortcoming that strikes the eye even at a cursory examination cannot, however, be disregarded—the indubitable symptoms of the “infantile disorder of Left-wing Communism” that has affected the journal, a subject on which I have written a short pamphlet that has just appeared in Petrograd.

The excellent journal *Kommunismus* reveals three symptoms of this malady, which I would like at once to deal with briefly. No. 6 (March 1, 1920) contains an article by Comrade G.L. entitled “On the Question of Parliamentarianism”, which the editors designate as controversial, and from which Comrade B. K., the author of an article entitled “On the Question of the Parliamentary Boycott” (No. 18, May 8, 1920), directly dissociates himself (fortunately), i.e., declares that he is in disagreement with it.

G. L.’s article is very Left-wing, and very poor. Its Marxism is purely verbal; its distinction between “defensive” and “offensive” tactics is artificial; it gives no concrete analysis of precise and definite historical situations; it takes no account of what is most essential (the need to take over and to learn to take over, all fields of work and all institutions in which the bourgeoisie exerts its influence over the masses, etc.).

No. 14 (April 17, 1920), carries an article by Comrade B. K., entitled “The Events in Germany”, in which he criticises a statement made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany on March 21, 1920, which statement I too criticised in the pamphlet mentioned above. However, our criticisms differ radically in character. Comrade B. K. criticises on the basis of quotations from Marx, which refer to a situation unlike the present one; he wholly rejects the tactics of the German Communist Party’s Central Committee and absolutely evades what is most important, that which constitutes the very gist, the living soul, of Marxism—a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. Since most of the urban workers have abandoned the Scheidemannites for the Kautskyites, and since, within the Kautskian party (a party “independent” of correct revolutionary tactics) they are continuing to abandon its Right wing in favour of the Left, i.e., in fact, of communism—since that is the case, is it permissible to take no account of the transitional and compromi-

se measures to be adopted with regard to *such workers*? Is it permissible to disregard and to gloss over the experience of the Bolsheviks, who, in April and May 1917, pursued what was in fact a policy of compromise, when they declared that the Provisional Government (Lvov, Milyukov, Kerensky and the rest) could not be overthrown at once, since in the Soviets, they still had the backing of the workers and it was first of all necessary to bring about a *change in views* in the majority, or a considerable part, of those workers?

I consider that impermissible.

Lastly, Comrade B. K.'s article in *Kommunismus* No. 18, which I have mentioned, very vividly, strikingly and effectively reveals his error in sympathising with the tactics of boycotting parliaments in present-day Europe. When the author dissociates himself from the "syndicalist boycott" and the "passive" boycott, but at the same time invents a special kind of "active" (Ah, how "Left"! . . .) boycott, the full extent of the errors in his argument is brought out very strikingly.

"An active boycott," the author writes, "means that the Communist Party does not confine itself to disseminating the slogan advocating non-participation in elections, but, in the interests of the boycott, engages in revolutionary agitation just as extensively as if it were participating in the elections and as if its agitation and action were designed to secure the greatest possible number of proletarian votes." (P. 552).

This is a gem. This demolishes the anti-parliamentarians better than any criticism could. An "active" boycott is devised "as though" we were participating in elections!! The mass of unenlightened and semi-enlightened workers and peasants take a serious part in elections, for they still entertain bourgeois-democratic prejudices, are still under the sway of those prejudices. And instead of helping the unenlightened (although at times "highly-cultured") petty bourgeois to get rid of their prejudices by their own experience, we are to hold aloof from taking part in parliaments and to amuse ourselves by *inventing* tactics free of all commonplace and bourgeois contamination!!

Bravo, bravo, Comrade B. K.! By your defence of anti-parliamentarianism you will help us to destroy this folly much sooner than I can through my criticism.

N. Lenin

12. 6. 1920

Published in 1920

Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 165—167

On the Struggle within the Italian Socialist Party

(Extracts)

The Italian revolutionary proletariat is about to face a period of battles that will be not merely extremely difficult, as I have said, but truly the most difficult of all. The greatest trials lie ahead. I would consider it frivolous and criminal to shrug off these difficulties. It surprises me how Comrade Serrati could have published in his journal *Comunismo* (No. 24, September 15-30, 1920), without any comment, such a superficial article as that by G. C. entitled "Will We Be Blockaded?" Despite what the author of this article says, I personally think that in the event of the proletariat's victory in Italy, the blockade of that country by Great Britain, France and America is possible and probable. In my opinion, Comrade Graziadei was much closer to the truth in his speech at the meeting of the Italian party's Central Committee (*Avanti!*, October 1, 1920, the Milan edition), when he admitted that the problem of a possible blockade was "very grave" ("*problema gravissima*"). He said that Russia had held out despite the blockade, partly because of the sparseness of her population and her enormous territory, but the revolution in Italy "could not resist (*resistere*) for long if it were not co-ordinated with a revolution in some other country in Central Europe", and that "such co-ordination is difficult but not impossible", because the whole of continental Europe is passing through a revolutionary period. . . .

To sum up:

1) The party of the revolutionary proletariat in Italy should display the utmost self-restraint, circumspection and coolness for a correct appraisal of the conditions in general, and the appropriate moment in particular, in the impending decisive battles for political power between the Italian working class and the bourgeoisie.

2) At the same time, all propaganda and agitation conducted by that party should be imbued with the firmest determination to wage that struggle to a victorious conclusion, come what may, in a united and centralised manner, and with supreme heroism, ruthlessly eliminating the vacillation, indecision and wavering with which the Turati supporters are so thoroughly imbued.

3) The propaganda conducted by the Milan edition, of *Avanti!*, which is edited by Serrati, does not prepare the proletariat for the struggle, but brings disintegration into its ranks. At a moment like the present, the party's Central Committee should give the workers leadership, prepare them for the revolution, and challenge wrong views. This can (and should) be done, while allowing all trends to express themselves. Serrati is giving leadership, but doing so in the wrong direction.

4) The expulsion from the party of all who attended the Reggio Emilia Congress on October 11, 1920, will not weaken the party but strengthen it; such "leaders" are capable only of wrecking the revolution in the "Hungarian style", *even if they do remain loyal*. The whiteguards and the bourgeoisie will be able to utilise the hesitation, vacillation, doubts, uncertainty, etc., of even quite "loyal" socialists, Social-Democrats, etc.

Published in part in *Pravda* No 250,
November 7, 1920

Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 387, 390

Signed: *Lenin*

Published in full in the magazine
Communist International, No 15,

December 20, 1920

Signed: *N. Lenin*

To Comrade Thomas Bell

Dear comrade,

I thank you very much for your letter, of August 7. I have read nothing concerning the English movement last months because of my illness and over-work.

It is extremely interesting what you communicate. Perhaps it is the *beginning* of the real proletarian mass movement in Great Britain *in the communist sense*. I am afraid we have till now in England few very feeble propagandist societies for communism (inclusive the British Communist Party) but no really mass communist movement.

If the South Wales Miners' Federation has decided on July 24 to affiliate to the Third International by a majority of 120 to 63—perhaps it is the beginning of a new era. (How many miners there are in England? More than 500,000? How much in South Wales? 25,000? How many miners were *really* represented in Cardiff July 24, 1921?)

If these miners are not too small minority, if they fraternise with soldiers and begin a *real* "class war"—we must do all our possible to *develop* this movement and strengthen it.

Economic measures (like communal kitchens) are good but they are not much important *now*, *before* the victory of the proletarian revolution in England. *Now* the *political* struggle is the most important.

English capitalists are shrewd, clever, astute. They *will support* (directly or indirectly) communal kitchens *in order* to divert the attention *from political aims*.

What is important is (if I am not mistaken):

1) To create a very good, really proletarian, really mass *Communist Party*

in this part of England, that is, such party which will *really* be the *leading* force in *all* labour movement in this part of the country. (Apply the resolution on organisation and work of the Party adopted by the Third Congress to this part of your country.)

2) To start a daily paper of the working class, for the working class in this part of the country.

To start it not as a business (as usually newspapers are started in capitalist countries), not with big sum of money, not in ordinary and usual manner—but as an *economic and political* tool of the *masses* in their struggle.

Either the miners of this district are capable to pay *halfpenny* daily (for the beginning *weekly*, if you like) for their *own* daily (or weekly) newspaper (be it very small, it is not important)—or *there is no beginning of really communist mass movement in this part of your country*.

If the Communist Party of this district cannot collect a few pounds in order to publish *small leaflets* daily as a beginning of the really *proletarian* communist newspaper—if it is so, if *every* miner will not pay a penny for it, then there is *not serious*, not genuine affiliation to the Third International.

English Government will apply the shrewdest means in order to suppress every beginning of this kind. Therefore we must be (in the beginning) very prudent. The paper must be *not too revolutionary* in the beginning. If you will have three editors, at least one must be *non-communist*. (At least two genuine workers.) If nine-tenths of the workers do not buy this paper, if two-thirds ($\frac{120}{120+63}$) do not pay special contributions (f. 1 penny *weekly*) for their paper—it will be no workers' newspaper.

I should be very glad to have few lines from you concerning this theme and beg to apologise for my bad English.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on August 13, 1921
First published in the *Workers' Weekly*
No. 205, January 21, 1927
The Russian translation appeared
in *Pravda* No. 21, January 27, 1927

Collected Works, Vol. 32, pp. 510—511

On the Significance of Militant Materialism

Comrade Trotsky has already said everything necessary, and said it very well, about the general purposes of *Pod Znamenem Marksizma* in issue No. 1-2 of that journal. I should like to deal with certain questions that more closely

define the content and programme of the work which its editors have set forth in the introductory statement in this issue.

This statement says that not all those gathered round the journal *Pod Znamenem Marksizma* are Communists but that they are all consistent materialists. I think that this alliance of Communists and non-Communists is absolutely essential and correctly defines the purposes of the journal. One of the biggest and most dangerous mistakes made by Communists (as generally by revolutionaries who have successfully accomplished the beginning of a great revolution) is the idea that a revolution can be made by revolutionaries alone. On the contrary, to be successful, all serious revolutionary work requires that the idea that revolutionaries are capable of playing the part only of the vanguard of the truly virile and advanced class must be understood and translated into action. A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass of the people it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward. Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist construction.

This also applies to the defence of materialism and Marxism, which has been undertaken by *Pod Znamenem Marksizma*. Fortunately, the main trends of advanced social thinking in Russia have a solid materialist tradition. Apart from G. V. Plekhanov, it will be enough to mention Chernyshevsky, from whom the modern Narodniks (the Popular Socialists, Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc.) have frequently retreated in quest of fashionable reactionary philosophical doctrines, captivated by the tinsel of the so-called last word in European science, and unable to discern beneath this tinsel some variety of servility to the bourgeoisie, to bourgeois prejudice and bourgeois reaction.

At any rate, in Russia we still have—and shall undoubtedly have for a fairly long time to come—materialists from the non-communist camp, and it is our absolute duty to enlist all adherents of consistent and militant materialism in the joint work of combating philosophical reaction and the philosophical prejudices of so-called educated society. Dietzgen senior—not to be confused with his writer son, who was as pretentious as he was unsuccessful—correctly, aptly and clearly expressed the fundamental Marxist view of the philosophical trends which prevail in bourgeois countries and enjoy the regard of their scientists and publicists, when he said that in effect the professors of philosophy in modern society are in the majority of cases nothing but “graduated flunkeys of clericalism”.

Our Russian intellectuals, who, like their brethern in all other countries, are fond of thinking themselves advanced, are very much averse to shifting the question to the level of the opinion expressed in Dietzgen’s words. But they are averse to it because they cannot look the truth in the face. One has only to give a little thought to the governmental and also the general economic, social and every other kind of dependence of modern educated people on the ruling bourgeoisie to realise that Dietzgen’s scathing description was absolutely true.

One has only to recall the vast majority of the fashionable philosophical trends that arise so frequently in European countries, beginning for example with those connected with the discovery of radium and ending with those which are now seeking to clutch at the skirts of Einstein, to gain an idea of the connection between the class interests and the class position of the bourgeoisie and its support of all forms of religion on the one hand, and the ideological content of the fashionable philosophical trends on the other.

It will be seen from the above that a journal that sets out to be a militant materialist organ must be primarily a militant organ, in the sense of unflinchingly exposing and indicting all modern "graduated flunkies of clericalism", irrespective of whether they act as representatives of official science or as free lances calling themselves "democratic Left or ideologically socialist" publicists.

In the second place, such a journal must be a militant atheist organ. We have departments, or at least state institutions, which are in charge of this work. But the work is being carried on with extreme apathy and very unsatisfactorily, and is apparently suffering from the general conditions of our truly Russian (even though Soviet) bureaucratic ways. It is therefore highly essential that in addition to the work of these state institutions, and in order to improve and infuse life into that work, a journal which sets out to propagandise militant materialism must carry on untiring atheist propaganda and an untiring atheist fight. The literature on the subject in all languages should be carefully followed and everything at all valuable in this sphere should be translated, or at least reviewed.

Engels long ago advised the contemporary leaders of the proletariat to translate the militant atheist literature of the late eighteenth century for mass distribution among the people. We have not done this up to the present, to our shame be it said (this is one of the numerous proofs that it is much easier to seize power in a revolutionary epoch than to know how to use this power properly). Our apathy, inactivity and incompetence are sometimes excused on all sorts of "lofty" grounds, as, for example, that the old atheist literature of the eighteenth century is antiquated, unscientific, naïve, etc. There is nothing worse than such pseudo-scientific sophistry, which serves as a screen either for pedantry or for a complete misunderstanding of Marxism. There is, of course, much that is unscientific and naïve in the atheist writings of the eighteenth century revolutionaries. But nobody prevents the publishers of these writings from abridging them and providing them with brief postscripts pointing out the progress made by mankind in the scientific criticism of religions since the end of the eighteenth century, mentioning the latest writings on the subject, and so forth. It would be the biggest and most grievous mistake a Marxist could make to think that the millions of the people (especially the peasants and artisans), who have been condemned by all modern society to darkness, ignorance and superstition, can extricate themselves from this darkness only along the straight line of a purely Marxist education. These masses should be supplied with the most varied atheist propaganda material, they should be

made familiar with facts from the most diverse spheres of life, they should be approached in every possible way, so as to interest them, rouse them from their religious torpor, stir them from the most varied angles and by the most varied methods, and so forth.

The keen, vivacious and talented writings of the old eighteenth-century atheists wittily and openly attacked the prevailing clericalism and will very often prove a thousand times more suitable for arousing people from their religious torpor than the dull and dry paraphrases of Marxism, almost completely unillustrated by skilfully selected facts, which predominate in our literature and which (it is no use hiding the fact) frequently distort Marxism. We have translations of all the major works of Marx and Engels. There are absolutely no grounds for fearing that the old atheism and old materialism will remain unsupplemented by the corrections introduced by Marx and Engels. The most important thing—and it is this that is most frequently overlooked by those of our Communists who are supposedly Marxists, but who in fact mutilate Marxism—is to know how to awaken in the still undeveloped masses an intelligent attitude towards religious questions and an intelligent criticism of religion.

On the other hand, take a glance at modern scientific critics of religion. These educated bourgeois writers almost invariably “supplement” their own refutations of religious superstitions with arguments which immediately expose them as ideological slaves of the bourgeoisie, as “graduated flunkies of clericalism”.

Two examples. Professor R. Y. Wipper published in 1918 a little book entitled *Vozniknovenie Khristianstva* (The Origin of Christianity—Pharos Publishing House, Moscow). In his account of the principal results of modern science, the author not only refrains from combating the superstitions and deception which are the weapons of the church as a political organisation, not only evades these questions, but makes the simply ridiculous and most reactionary claim that he is above both “extremes”—the idealist and the materialist. This is toadying to the ruling bourgeoisie, which all over the world devotes to the support of religion hundreds of millions of rubles from the profits squeezed out of the working people.

The well-known German scientist, Arthur Drews, while refuting religious superstitions and fables in his book, *Die Christusmythe* (The Christ Myth), and while showing that Christ never existed, at the end of the book declares in favour of religion, albeit a renovated, purified and more subtle religion, one that would be capable of withstanding “the daily growing naturalist torrent” (fourth German edition, 1910, p. 238). Here we have an outspoken and deliberate reactionary, who is openly helping the exploiters to replace the old, decayed religious superstitions by new, more odious and vile superstitions.

This does not mean that Drews should not be translated. It means that while in a certain measure effecting an alliance with the progressive section of the bourgeoisie, Communists and all consistent materialists should unflinchingly expose that section when it is guilty of reaction. It means that to shun an

alliance with the representatives of the bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century, i.e., the period when it was revolutionary, would be to betray Marxism and materialism; for an "alliance" with Drewses, in one form or another and in one degree or another, is essential for our struggle against the predominating religious obscurantists.

Pod Znamenem Marksizma, which sets out to be an organ of militant materialism, should devote much of its space to atheist propaganda, to reviews of the literature on the subject and to correcting the immense shortcomings of our governmental work in this field. It is particularly important to utilise books and pamphlets which contain many concrete facts and comparisons showing how the class interests and class organisations of the modern bourgeoisie are connected with the organisations of religious institutions and religious propaganda.

All material relating to the United States of America, where the official, state connection between religion and capital is less manifest, is extremely important. But, on the other hand, it becomes all the clearer to us that so-called modern democracy (which the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, partly also the anarchists, etc., so unreasonably worship) is nothing but the freedom to preach whatever is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie, to preach, namely, the most reactionary ideas, religion, obscurantism, defence of the exploiters, etc.

One would like to hope that a journal which sets out to be a militant materialist organ will provide our reading public with reviews of atheist literature, showing for which circle of readers any particular writing might be suitable and in what respect, and mentioning what literature has been published in our country (only decent translations should be given notice, and they are not so many), and what is still to be published.

In addition to the alliance with consistent materialists who do not belong to the Communist Party, of no less and perhaps even of more importance for the work which militant materialism should perform is an alliance with those modern natural scientists who incline towards materialism and are not afraid to defend and preach it as against the modish philosophical wanderings into idealism and scepticism which are prevalent in so-called educated society.

The article by A. Timiryazev on Einstein's theory of relativity published in *Pod Znamenem Marksizma* No. 1-2 permits us to hope that the journal will succeed in effecting this second alliance too. Greater attention should be paid to it. It should be remembered that the sharp upheaval which modern natural science is undergoing very often gives rise to reactionary philosophical schools and minor schools, trends and minor trends. Unless, therefore, the problems raised by the recent revolution in natural science are followed, and unless natural scientists are enlisted in the work of a philosophical journal, militant materialism can be neither militant nor materialism. Timiryazev was obliged to

observe in the first issue of the journal that the theory of Einstein, who, according to Timiryazev, is himself not making any active attack on the foundations of materialism, has already been seized upon by a vast number of bourgeois intellectuals of all countries; it should be noted that this applies not only to Einstein, but to a number, if not to the majority, of the great reformers of natural science since the end of the nineteenth century.

For our attitude towards this phenomenon to be a politically conscious one, it must be realised that no natural science and no materialism can hold its own in the struggle against the onslaught of bourgeois ideas and the restoration of the bourgeois world outlook unless it stands on solid philosophical ground. In order to hold his own in this struggle and carry it to a victorious finish, the natural scientist must be a modern materialist, a conscious adherent of the materialism represented by Marx, i.e., he must be a dialectical materialist. In order to attain this aim, the contributors to *Pod Znamenem Marksizma* must arrange for the systematic study of Hegelian dialectics from a materialist standpoint, i.e., the dialectics which Marx applied practically in his *Capital* and in his historical and political works, and applied so successfully that now every day of the awakening to life and struggle of new classes in the East (Japan, India, and China)—i.e., the hundreds of millions of human beings who form the greater part of the world population and whose historical passivity and historical torpor have hitherto conditioned the stagnation and decay of many advanced European countries—every day of the awakening to life of new peoples and new classes serves as a fresh confirmation of Marxism.

Of course, this study, this interpretation, this propaganda of Hegelian dialectics is extremely difficult, and the first experiments in this direction will undoubtedly be accompanied by errors. But only he who never does anything never makes mistakes. Taking as our basis Marx's method of applying materialistically conceived Hegelian dialectics, we can and should elaborate this dialectics from all aspects, print in the journal excerpts from Hegel's principal works, interpret them materialistically and comment on them with the help of examples of the way Marx applied dialectics, as well as of examples of dialectics in the sphere of economic and political relations, which recent history, especially modern imperialist war and revolution, provides in unusual abundance. In my opinion, the editors and contributors of *Pod Znamenem Marksizma* should be a kind of "Society of Materialist Friends of Hegelian Dialectics". Modern natural scientists (if they know how to seek, and if we learn to help them) will find in the Hegelian dialectics, materialistically interpreted, a series of answers to the philosophical problems which are being raised by the revolution in natural science and which make the intellectual admirers of bourgeois fashion "stumble" into reaction.

Unless it sets itself such a task and systematically fulfils it, materialism cannot be militant materialism. It will be not so much the fighter as the fought, to use an expression of Shchedrin's. Without this, eminent natural scientists will as often as hitherto be helpless in making their philosophical deductions

and generalisations. For natural science is progressing so fast and is undergoing such a profound revolutionary upheaval in all spheres that it cannot possibly dispense with philosophical deductions.

In conclusion, I will cite an example which has nothing to do with philosophy, but does at any rate concern social questions, to which *Pod Znamenem Marksizma* also desires to devote attention.

It is an example of the way in which modern pseudoscience actually serves as a vehicle for the grossest and most infamous reactionary views.

I was recently sent a copy of *Ekonomist* No. 1 (1922), published by the Eleventh Department of the Russian Technical Society. The young Communist who sent me this journal (he probably had no time to read it) rashly expressed considerable agreement with it. In reality the journal is—I do not know to what extent deliberately—an organ of the modern feudalists, disguised of course under a cloak of science, democracy and so forth.

A certain Mr. P. A. Sorokin publishes in this journal an extensive, so-called “sociological”, inquiry on “The Influence of the War”. This learned article abounds in learned references to the “sociological” works of the author and his numerous teachers and colleagues abroad. Here is an example of his learning.

On page 83, I read:

“For every 10,000 marriages in Petrograd there are now 92.2 divorces—a fantastic figure. Of every 100 annulled marriages, 51.1 had lasted less than one year, 11 per cent less than one month, 22 per cent less than two months, 41 per cent less than three to six months and only 26 per cent over six months. These figures show that modern legal marriage is a form which conceals what is in effect extra-marital sexual intercourse, enabling lovers of ‘strawberries’ to satisfy their appetites in a ‘legal’ way” (*Ekonomist* No. 1, p. 83).

Both this gentleman and the Russian Technical Society, which publishes this journal and gives space to this kind of talk, no doubt regard themselves as adherents of democracy and would consider it a great insult to be called what they are in fact, namely, feudalists, reactionaries, “graduated flunkies of clericalism”.

Even the slightest acquaintance with the legislation of bourgeois countries on marriage, divorce and illegitimate children, and with the actual state of affairs in this field, is enough to show anyone interested in the subject that modern bourgeois democracy, even in all the most democratic bourgeois republics, exhibits a truly feudal attitude in this respect towards women and towards children born out of wedlock.

This, of course, does not prevent the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, a part of the anarchists and all the corresponding parties in the West from shouting about democracy and how it is being violated by the Bolsheviks. But as a matter of fact the Bolshevik revolution is the only consistently democratic revolution in respect to such questions as marriage, divorce and the position of children born out of wedlock. And this is a question which most directly affects the interests of more than half the population of any country.

Although a large number of bourgeois revolutions preceded it and called themselves democratic, the Bolshevik revolution was the first and only revolution to wage a resolute struggle in this respect both against reaction and feudalism and against the usual hypocrisy of the ruling and propertied classes.

If 92 divorces for every 10,000 marriages seem to Mr. Sorokin a fantastic figure, one can only suppose that either the author lived and was brought up in a monastery so entirely walled off from life that hardly anyone will believe such a monastery ever existed, or that he is distorting the truth in the interest of reaction and the bourgeoisie. Anybody in the least acquainted with social conditions in bourgeois countries knows that the real number of actual divorces (of course, not sanctioned by church and law) is everywhere immeasurably greater. The only difference between Russia and other countries in this respect is that our laws do not sanctify hypocrisy and the debasement of the woman and her child, but openly and in the name of the government declare systematic war on all hypocrisy and all debasement.

The Marxist journal will have to wage war also on these modern "educated" feudalists. Not a few of them, very likely, are in receipt of government money and are employed by our government to educate our youth, although they are no more fitted for this than notorious perverts are fitted for the post of superintendents of educational establishments for the young.

The working class of Russia proved able to win power; but it has not yet learned to utilise it, for otherwise it would have long ago very politely dispatched such teachers and members of learned societies to countries with a bourgeois "democracy". That is the proper place for such feudalists.

But it will learn, given the will to learn.

March 12, 1922

Pod Znamenem Marksizma No. 3,
March 1922
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 227—236

Section VIII

THE TASKS OF THE PRESS IN BUILDING A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Original Version of the Article "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government"

VERBATIM REPORT

(Extract)

The Soviet press has devoted excessive space and attention to the petty political issues, the personal questions of political leadership by which the capitalists of all countries have striven to divert the attention of the masses from the really important, profound and fundamental questions of our life. In this connection we are faced with the need to solve almost anew a problem for the solution of which all the material requisites are available, only awareness of the urgency of this problem and readiness to solve it being absent. This problem is how to convert the press from an organ mainly devoted to communicating the political news of the day into a serious organ for educating the mass of the population in economics. We shall have to ensure, and we shall ensure, that the press serving the Soviet masses will devote less space to questions of the personal composition of the political leadership, or to questions of the tenth-rate political measures that comprise the commonplace activity and routine work of all political institutions. Instead the press will have to give priority to labour questions in their immediately practical setting. The press must become the organ of the labour commune in the sense of giving publicity to just what the leaders of capitalist enterprises used to try to conceal from the masses. For the capitalist the internal organisation of his enterprise was something veiled by trade secrets from the eyes of the outside world, something over which, it seems,

he wanted to be omnipotent and in sole command, hidden not only from criticism, not only from outside interference, but also from outside eyes. For the Soviet government, on the contrary, it is the organisation of labour in any particular large enterprises, in any particular village communes that is the chief, fundamental and urgent question of all social life. Our first and main means for increasing the self-discipline of the working people and for passing from the old, good-for-nothing methods of work, or methods of shirking work, in capitalist society, must be the press, revealing shortcomings in the economic life of each labour commune, ruthlessly branding these shortcomings, frankly laying bare all the ulcers of our economic life, and thus appealing to the public opinion of the working people for curing these ulcers. Let there be ten times less newspapers material (perhaps it would be good if there were 100 times less) devoted to so-called current news, but let us have, distributed in hundreds of thousands and millions of copies, a press that acquaints the whole population with the exemplary arrangement of affairs in a few state labour communes which surpass the others. Each factory, each *artel* and agricultural enterprise, each village that goes over to the new agriculture by applying the law on socialisation of the land, is now, as one of the democratic bases of Soviet power, an independent commune with its own internal organisation of labour. In each of these communes, an increase in the self-discipline of the working people, their ability to work together with managing experts, even from the bourgeois intelligentsia, their achievement of practical results in the sense of raising labour productivity, economising human labour and safeguarding output from the unprecedented thieving from which we are suffering immeasurably at the present time—that is what should form the main content of our Soviet press. That is the way in which we can and must bring it about that the force of example becomes first of all a morally essential, and later a compulsorily introduced, pattern for organising labour in the new Soviet Russia.

In capitalist society there have been repeated examples of the organisation of labour communes by people who hoped peacefully and painlessly to convince mankind of the advantages of socialism and to ensure its adoption. Such a standpoint and such methods of activity evoke wholly legitimate ridicule from revolutionary Marxists because, under the conditions of capitalist slavery, to achieve any radical changes by means of isolated examples would in fact be a completely vain dream, which in practice has led either to moribund enterprises or to the conversion of these enterprises into associations of petty capitalists.

This habitual attitude of ridicule and scorn towards the importance of example in the national economy is sometimes evident even now among people who have not thoroughly considered the radical changes that began from the time of the conquest of political power by the proletariat. Now, when the land has ceased to be private property, when the factories have almost ceased to be private property and will undoubtedly cease to be such in the very near future (it will be no trouble at all for the Soviet government in its present

situation to introduce the appropriate decrees), the example of the labour commune, which solves organisational problems better than any other means, has acquired tremendous significance. It is just now that we must see to it that the mass of unusually valuable material available in the form of the experience of the new organisation of production in individual towns, in individual enterprises, in individual village communes, becomes the possession of the masses.

We are still under considerable pressure from the old public opinion imposed by the bourgeoisie. If we look at our newspapers, it is easy to see what a disproportionately large place we still devote to questions raised by the bourgeoisie, questions with which it seeks to divert the attention of the working people from the concrete practical tasks of socialist reconstruction. We must convert—and we shall convert—the press from an organ for purveying sensations, from a mere apparatus for communicating political news, from an organ of struggle against bourgeois lying—into an instrument for the economic re-education of the masses, into an instrument for telling the masses how to organise work in a new way. Enterprises or village communes which do not respond to any appeals and demands for restoring self-discipline and raising labour productivity will be entered on a “black list” by the socialist parties and will either be put in the category of sick enterprises in regard to which measures have to be taken for their rehabilitation by means of special arrangements—special steps and statutes—or they will be put in the category of punished enterprises which are liable to closure and whose participants must be handed over to a people’s court. Introducing publicity in this sphere will by itself be a vast reform and will serve to draw the broad mass of the people into independent participation in deciding these questions, which most closely concern the masses. The reason why so little has been done in this respect up to now is that what was kept hidden from public knowledge in individual enterprises and communes has remained a secret as of old, which was understandable under capitalism but which is absolutely absurd and senseless in a society that wants to achieve socialism. The force of example, which could not be displayed in capitalist society, will be of enormous importance in a society that has abolished private ownership of land and factories, not only because, perhaps, good examples will be followed here, but also because a better example of the organisation of production will be accompanied inevitably by a lightening of labour and an increase in the amount of consumption for those who have carried out this better organisation. And here, in connection with the importance of the press as an organ for the economic reorganisation and re-education of the masses, we must also touch on the importance of the press in organising competition.

The organisation of competition must take a prominent place among the tasks of the Soviet government in the economic sphere. In their criticism of socialism, bourgeois economists have often declared that socialists deny the importance of competition or give it no place in their system or, as the economists

express it, in their plan of social organisation. There is no need to say how stupid is this accusation, which has often been refuted in the socialist press. The bourgeois economists, as always, have confused the question of the specific features of capitalist society with the question of a different form of organisation of competition. The socialists' attacks have never been directed against competition as such, but only against market competition. Market competition, however, is a special form of competition characteristic of capitalist society and consisting in a struggle of individual producers for a livelihood and for influence, for a place in the market. The abolition of competition as a struggle of producers that is connected only with the market does not at all mean the abolition of competition—on the contrary, the abolition of commodity production and capitalism makes it possible to organise competition in its human instead of its bestial forms. It is just at the present time in Russia, in view of the foundations of political power that have been created by the Soviet Republic, and of the economic characteristics of Russia with her vast expanses and tremendous diversity of conditions—it is just now that organisation of competition on a socialist basis in our country should be one of the most important and rewarding tasks in the reorganisation of society.

We are for democratic centralism. And it must be clearly understood how vastly different democratic centralism is from bureaucratic centralism on the one hand, and from anarchism on the other. The opponents of centralism continually put forward autonomy and federation as a means of struggle against the uncertainties of centralism. As a matter of fact, democratic centralism in no way excludes autonomy, on the contrary, it presupposes the necessity of it. As a matter of fact, even federation, if carried out within limits that are rational from an economic point of view, if it is based on important national distinctions that give rise to a real need for a certain degree of state separateness—even federation is in no way in contradiction to democratic centralism. Under a really democratic system, and the more so with the Soviet organisation of the state, federation is very often merely a transitional step towards really democratic centralism. The example of the Russian Soviet Republic shows us particularly clearly that federation, which we are introducing and will introduce, is now the surest step towards the most lasting union of the various nationalities of Russia into a single democratic centralised Soviet state.

And just as democratic centralism in no way excludes autonomy and federation, so, too, it in no way excludes, but on the contrary presupposes, the fullest freedom of various localities and even of various communes of the state in developing multifarious forms of state, social and economic life. There is nothing more mistaken than confusing democratic centralism with bureaucracy and routinism. Our task now is to carry out democratic centralism in the economic sphere, to ensure absolute harmony and unity in the functioning of such economic undertaking as the railways, the postal and telegraph services, other means of transport, and so forth. At the same time, centralism, understood in a truly democratic sense, presupposes the possibility, created for the first time in

history, of a full and unhampered development not only of specific local features, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal. The task of organising competition, therefore, has two aspects: on the one hand, it requires the carrying out of democratic centralism as described above, on the other hand, it makes it possible to find the most correct and most economical way of reorganising the economic structure of Russia. In general terms, this way is known. It consists in the transition to large-scale economy based on machine industry, in the transition to socialism. But the concrete conditions and forms of this transition are and must be diverse, depending on the conditions under which the advance aiming at the creation of socialism begins. Local distinctions, specific economic formations, forms of every day life, the degree of preparedness of the population, attempts to carry out a particular plan—all these are bound to be reflected in the specific features of the path to socialism of a particular labour commune of the state. The greater such diversity—provided, of course, that it does not turn into eccentricity—the more surely and rapidly shall we ensure the achievement of both democratic centralism and a socialist economy. It only remains for us now to organise competition, i.e., to ensure publicity which would enable all communes in the state to learn how economic development has proceeded in various localities; to ensure, secondly, that the results of the advance towards socialism in one commune of the state are comparable with those in another; to ensure, thirdly, that the experience acquired in one commune can be repeated in practice by other communes; to ensure the possibility of an exchange of those material—and human—forces which have done well in any particular sphere of the national economy or of the state administration. Crushed by the capitalist system, we cannot at present even imagine at all accurately what rich forces lie hidden in the mass of the working people, in the diversity of labour communes of a large state, in the forces of the intelligentsia, who have hitherto worked as lifeless, dumb executors of the capitalists' pre-determined plans, what forces are lying hidden and can reveal themselves given a socialist structure of society. What we have to do is only to clear the way for these forces. If we devote ourselves to the organisation of competition as a matter of state importance, then—provided that Soviet principles of the state system are implemented, provided that private ownership of land, factories etc., is abolished—the results are inevitably bound to show themselves and will dictate our further forms of construction.

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Collected Works, Vol. 27, pp. 203—209

The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government

(Extract)

THE ORGANISATION OF COMPETITION

Among the absurdities which the bourgeoisie are fond of spreading about socialism is the allegation that socialists deny the importance of competition. In fact, it is only socialism which, by abolishing classes, and, consequently, by abolishing the enslavement of the people, for the first time opens the way for competition on a really mass scale. And it is precisely the Soviet form of organisation, by ensuring transition from the formal democracy of the bourgeois republic to real participation of the mass of working people in *administration*, that for the first time puts competition on a broad basis. It is much easier to organise this in the political field than in the economic field; but for the success of socialism, it is the economic field that matters.

Take, for example, a means of organising competition such as publicity. The bourgeois republic ensures publicity only formally; in practice, it subordinates the press to capital, entertains the "mob" with sensationalist political trash and conceals what takes place in the workshops, in commercial transactions, contracts, etc., behind a veil of "trade secrets", which protect "the sacred right of property". The Soviet government has abolished trade secrets, it has taken a new path; but we done hardly anything to utilise publicity for the purpose of encouraging economic competition. While ruthlessly suppressing the thoroughly mendacious and insolently slanderous bourgeois press, we must set to work systematically to create a press that will not entertain and fool the people with political sensation and trivialities, but which will submit the questions of everyday economic life to the people's judgement and assist in the serious study of these questions. Every factory, every village is a producers' and consumers' commune, whose right and duty it is to apply the general Soviet laws in their own way ("in their own way", not in the sense of violating them, but in the sense that they can apply them in various forms) and in their own way to solve the problem of accounting in the production and distribution of goods. Under capitalism, this was the "private affair" of the individual capitalist, landowner or kulak. Under the Soviet system, it is not a private affair, but a most important affair of state.

We have scarcely yet started on the enormous, difficult but rewarding task of organising competition between communes, of introducing accounting and publicity in the process of the production of grain, clothes and other things, of transforming dry, dead, bureaucratic accounts into living examples, some repulsive, others attractive. Under the capitalist mode of production, the significance of individual example, say the example of a co-operative workshop, was inevitably very much restricted, and only those imbued with

petty-bourgeois illusions could dream of "correcting" capitalism through the example of virtuous institutions. After political power has passed to the proletariat, after the expropriators have been expropriated, the situation radically changes and—as prominent socialists have repeatedly pointed out—force of example for the first time is able to influence the people. Model communes must and will serve as educators, teachers, helping to raise the backward communes. The press must serve as an instrument of socialist construction, give publicity to the successes achieved by the model communes in all their details, must study the causes of these successes, the methods of management these communes employ, and, on the other hand, must put on the "black list" those communes which persist in the "traditions of capitalism", i.e., anarchy, laziness, disorder and profiteering. In capitalist society, statistics were entirely a matter for "government servants", or for narrow specialists; we must carry statistics to the people and make them popular so that the working people themselves may gradually learn to understand and see how long and in what way it is necessary to work, how much time and in what way one may rest, so that *the comparison of the business results* of the various communes may become a matter of general interest and study, and that the most outstanding communes may be rewarded immediately (by reducing the working day, raising remuneration, placing a larger amount of cultural or aesthetic facilities or values at their disposal, etc.).

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and *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 85
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 27, pp. 259—261

The Character of Our Newspapers

Far too much space is being allotted to political agitation on outdated themes—to political ballyhoo—and far too little to the building of the new life, to the facts about it.

Why, instead of turning out 200-400 lines, don't we write twenty or even ten lines on such simple, generally known, clear topics with which the people are already fairly well acquainted, like the foul treachery of the Mensheviks—the lackeys of the bourgeoisie—the Anglo-Japanese invasion to restore the sacred rights of capital, the American multimillionaires baring their fangs against Germany, etc., etc.? We must write about these things and note every new fact in this sphere, but we need not write long articles and repeat old arguments; what is needed is to convey in just a few lines, "in telegraphic style", the latest manifestation of the old, known and already evaluated politics.

The bourgeois press in the "good old bourgeois times" never mentioned the "holy of holies"—the conditions in privately-owned factories, in the private enterpreiss. This custom fitted in with the interests of the bourgeoisie. We must radically break with it. We have *not* broken with it. So far our type of newspaper has *not* changed as it should in a society in transition from capitalism to socialism.

Less politics. Politics has been "elucidated" fully and reduced to a struggle between the two camps: the insurrectionary proletariat and the handful of capitalist slaveowners (with the whole gang, right down to the Mensheviks and others). We may, and, I repeat, we must, speak very briefly about these politics.

More economics. But not in the sense of "general" discussions, learned reviews, intellectual plans and similar piffle, for, I regret to say, they are all too often just piffle and nothing more. By economics we mean the gathering, *careful checking* and study of the facts of the actual organisation of the new life. Have *real* successes been achieved by big factories, agricultural communes, the Poor Peasants' Committees, and local Economic Councils in building up the new economy? What, precisely, are these successes? Have they been verified? Are they not fables, boasting, intellectual promises ("things are moving", "the plan has been drawn up", "we are getting under way", "we now vouch for", "there is undoubted improvement", and other charlatan phrases of which "we" are such masters)? How have the successes been achieved? What must be done to extend them?

Where is the black list with the names of the lagging factories which since nationalisation have remained models of disorder, disintegration, dirt, hooliganism and parasitism? Nowhere to be found. But there *are* such factories. We shall not be able to do our duty unless we wage *war* against these "guardians of capitalist traditions". We shall be jellyfish, not Communists, as long as we tolerate such factories. We have not learned to wage the class struggle in the newspapers as skilfully as the bourgeoisie did. Remember the skill with which it *hounded its* class enemies in the press, ridiculed them, disgraced them, and tried to sweep them away. And we? Doesn't the class struggle in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism take the form of safeguarding the interests of the working *class* against the few, the groups and sections of workers who stubbornly cling to capitalist traditions and continue to regard the Soviet state in the old way: work as little and as badly as they can and grab as much money as possible from the state. Aren't there many such scoundrels, even among the compositors in Soviet printing works, among the Sormovo and Putilov workers, etc.? How many of them have we found, how many have we exposed and how many have we pilloried?

The press is silent. And if it mentions the subject at all it does so in a stereotyped, official way, not in the manner of a *revolutionary* press, not as an organ of the *dictatorship* of a class demonstrating that the resistance of the capitalists and of the parasites—the custodians of capitalist traditions—will be crushed with an iron hand.

The same with the war. Do we harass cowardly or inefficient officers? Have we denounced the really bad regiments to the whole of Russia? Have we "caught" enough of the bad types who should be removed from the army with the greatest publicity for unsuitability, carelessness, procrastination, etc.? We are not yet waging an effective, ruthless and truly revolutionary war against the *specific* wrongdoers. We do very little to *educate the people* by living, concrete examples and models taken from all spheres of life, although that is the chief task of the press during the transition from capitalism to communism. We give little attention to that aspect of *everyday* life inside the factories, in the villages and in the regiments where, more than anywhere else, the new is being built, where attention, publicity, public criticism, condemnation of what is bad and appeals to learn from the good are needed most.

Less political ballyhoo. Fewer highbrow discussions. Closer to life. More attention to the way in which the workers and peasants are *actually* building the *new* in their everyday work, and more *verification* so as to ascertain the extent to which the new is *communistic*.

Pravda No. 202,
September 20, 1918
Signed N. Lenin

Collected Works, Vol. 28, pp. 96—98

The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky

(Extract)

Only Soviet Russia has given the proletariat and the whole vast labouring majority of Russia a *freedom and democracy* unprecedented, impossible and inconceivable in any bourgeois democratic republic, by, for example, taking the palaces and mansions away from the bourgeoisie (without which freedom of assembly is sheer hypocrisy), by taking the print-shops and stocks of paper away from the capitalists (without which freedom of the press for the nation's labouring majority is a lie), and by replacing bourgeois parliamentarism by the democratic organisation of the *Soviets, which are a thousand times* nearer to the people and more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois parliament. *And so on.*

Pravda No. 219, October 11, 1918
Signed: N. Lenin

Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 108

A Great Beginning

HEROISM OF THE WORKERS IN THE REAR. "COMMUNIST SUBBOTNIKS"

(Extracts)

The press reports many instances of the heroism of the Red Army men. In the fight against Kolchak, Denikin and other forces of the landowners and capitalists the workers and peasants very often display miracles of bravery and endurance, defending the gains of the socialist revolution. The guerrilla spirit, weariness and indiscipline are being overcome; it is a slow and difficult process, but it is making headway in spite of everything. The heroism of the working people making voluntary sacrifices for the victory of socialism — this is the foundation of the new, comradely discipline in the Red Army, the foundation on which that army is regenerating, gaining strength and growing.

The heroism of the workers in the rear is no less worthy of attention. In this connection, the *communist subbotniks* organised by the workers on their own initiative are really of enormous significance. Evidently, this is only a beginning, but it is a beginning of exceptionally great importance. It is the beginning of a revolution that is more difficult, more tangible, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty-bourgeois egoism, a victory over the habits left as a heritage to the worker and peasant by accursed capitalism. Only when *this* victory is consolidated will the new social discipline, socialist discipline, be created; then and only then will a reversion to capitalism become impossible, will communism become really invincible.

Pravda in its issue of May 17 published an article by A. J. entitled: "Work in a Revolutionary Way. *A Communist Saturday*". This article is so important that we reproduce it here in full.

"WORK IN A REVOLUTIONARY WAY". "A COMMUNIST SATURDAY"

"The letter of the Russian Communist Party's Central Committee on working in a *revolutionary way* was a powerful stimulus to communist organisations and to Communists. The general wave of enthusiasm carried many communist railway workers to the front, but the majority of them could not leave their responsible posts or find new forms of working in a revolutionary way. Reports from the localities about the tardiness with which the work of mobilisation was proceeding and the prevalence of red tape compelled the Moscow-Kazan Railway district to turn its attention to the way the railway was functioning. It turned out that, owing to the shortage of labour and low productivity of labour, urgent orders and repairs to locomotives were being held up. At a general meeting of Communists and sympathisers of the Moscow-Kazan Railway district held on May 7, the question

was raised of passing from words to deeds in helping to achieve victory over Kolchak. The following resolution was moved:

"In view of the grave domestic and foreign situation, Communists and sympathisers, in order to gain the upper hand over the class enemy, must spur themselves on again and deduct an extra hour from their rest, i.e., lengthen their working day by one hour, accumulate these extra hours and put in six extra hours of manual labour on Saturday for the purpose of creating real values of immediate worth. Since Communists must not grudge their health and life for the gains of the revolution, this work should be performed without pay. *Communist Saturdays* are to be introduced throughout the district and to continue until complete victory over Kolchak has been achieved."

"After some hesitation, the resolution was adopted unanimously.

"On Saturday, May 10, at 6 p.m., the Communists and sympathisers turned up to work like soldiers, formed ranks, and without fuss or bustle were taken by the foremen to the various jobs.

"The results of working in a revolutionary way are evident. The accompanying table gives the places of work and the character of the work performed . . .

"The total value of the work performed at ordinary rates of pay is five million rubles; calculated at overtime rates it would be fifty per cent higher.

"The productivity of labour in loading waggons was 270 per cent higher than that of regular workers. The productivity of labour on other jobs was approximately the same.

"Jobs (urgent) were done which had been held up for periods ranging from seven days to three months owing to the shortage of labour and to red tape.

"The work was done in spite of the state of disrepair (easily remedied) of implements, as a result of which certain groups were held up from thirty to forty minutes.

"The administration left in charge of the work could hardly keep pace with the men in finding new jobs for them, and perhaps it was only a slight exaggeration when an old foreman said that as much work was done at this *communist Saturday* as would have been done in a week by non-class-conscious and slack workers.

"In view of the fact that many non-Communists, sincere supporters of the Soviet government, took part in the work, and that many more are expected on future Saturdays, and also in view of the fact that many other districts desire to follow the example of the communist railway workers of the Moscow-Kazan Railway, I shall deal in greater detail with the organisational side of the matter as seen from reports received from the localities.

"Of those taking part in the work, some ten per cent were Communists permanently employed in the localities. The rest were persons occupying responsible and elective posts, from the commissar of the railway to commissars of individual enterprises, representatives of the trade union, and employees of the head office and of the Commissariat of Railways.

"The enthusiasm and team spirit displayed during work were extraordinary. When the workers, clerks and head office employees, without even an oath or argument, caught hold of the forty-pood wheel tire of a passenger locomotive and, like industrious ants, rolled it into place, one's heart was filled with fervent joy at the sight of this collective effort, and one's conviction was strengthened that the victory of the working class was unshakable. The international bandits will not crush the victorious workers; the internal saboteurs will not live to see Kolchak.

"When the work was finished those present witnessed an unprecedented scene: a hundred Communists, weary, but with the light of joy in their eyes, greeted their success with the solemn strains of the *Internationale*. And it seemed as if the triumphant strains of the triumphant anthem would sweep over the walls through the whole of working-class Moscow and that like the waves caused by a

stone thrown into a pool they would spread through the whole of working-class Russia and shake up the weary and the slack . . .

"A. J."

The movement of "communist subbotniks" is not confined to Moscow. *Pravda* of June 6 reported the following:

"The first communist subbotnik in Tver took place on May 31. One hundred and twenty-eight Communists worked on the railway. In three and a half hours they loaded and unloaded fourteen waggons, repaired three locomotives, cut up ten sages of firewood and performed other work. The productivity of labour of the skilled communist workers was thirteen times above normal."

Again, on June 8 we read in *Pravda*:

"COMMUNIST SUBBOTNIKS"

"*Saratov*. June 5. In response to the appeal of their Moscow comrades, the communist railway workers here at a general Party meeting resolved: to work five hours overtime on Saturdays without pay in order to support the national economy."

I have given the fullest and most detailed information about the communist subbotniks because in this we undoubtedly observe one of the most important aspects of communist construction, to which our press pays insufficient attention, and which all of us have as yet failed properly to appreciate.

Less political fireworks and more attention to the simplest but living facts of communist construction, taken from and tested by actual life—this is the slogan which all of us, our writers, agitators, propagandists, organisers, etc., should repeat unceasingly . . .

Fewer pompous phrases, more plain, *everyday* work, concern for the pood of grain and the pood of coal! More concern about providing this pood of grain and pood of coal needed by the hungry workers and ragged and barefoot peasants *not* by *haggling*, not in a capitalist manner, but by the conscious, voluntary, boundlessly heroic labour of plain working men like the unskilled labourers and railwaymen of the Moscow-Kazan line.

We must all admit that vestiges of the bourgeois-intellectual phrase-mongering approach to questions of the revolution are in evidence at every step, everywhere, even in our own ranks. Our press, for example, does little to fight these rotten survivals of the rotten, bourgeois-democratic past; it does little to foster the simple, modest, ordinary but viable shoots of genuine communism. . . .

Look at the bourgeoisie. How very well they know how to advertise what *they* need! See how millions of copies of *their* newspapers extol what the capitalists regard as "model" enterprises, and how "model" bourgeois institutions are made an object of national pride! Our press does not take the trouble, or hardly ever, to describe the best catering establishments or nurseries, in order,

by daily insistence, to get some of them turned into models of their kind. It does not give them enough publicity, does not describe in detail the saving in human labour, the conveniences for the consumer, the economy of products, the emancipation of women from domestic slavery, the improvement in sanitary conditions, that can be achieved with *exemplary communist work* and extended to the whole of society, to all working people.

Exemplary production, exemplary communist subbotniks, exemplary care and conscientiousness in procuring and distributing every pood of grain, exemplary catering establishments, exemplary cleanliness in such-and-such a workers' house, in such-and-such a block, should all receive ten times more attention and care from our press, as well as from *every* workers' and peasants' organisation, than they receive now. All these are shoots of communism, and it is our common and primary duty to nurse them.

Published in July 1919
as a separate pamphlet in Moscow
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 29, pp. 411–414,
418, 428, 430

The Fight to Overcome the Fuel Crisis

CIRCULAR LETTER TO PARTY ORGANISATIONS

(Extracts)

Our victories were due to the direct appeal made by our Party and by the Soviet government to the working masses, with every new difficulty and problem pointed out as it arose; to our ability to explain to the masses why it was necessary to devote all energies first to one, then to another aspect of Soviet work at a given moment . . .

The local press must devote more attention to this work and must take pains to bring to public attention examples of really fine work and wage an implacable campaign against backwardness, lack of zeal or lack of ability displayed by any particular district, department or institution. Our press must become an instrument for bringing the backward into line and for inculcating industry, labour discipline and organisation.

Pravda No. 254, November 13, 1919

Collected Works, Vol. 30, pp. 139, 142

Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)

March 20 — April 5, 1920

SPEECH CLOSING THE CONGRESS

April 5

(Extract)

We are effecting the transition to socialism, and the most urgent question—bread and work—is not a private question, not the private affair of an employer, but the affair of the whole of society, and any peasant who thinks at all must definitely realise and understand that if the government raises the question of the railways in its whole press, in every article, in every newspaper issue, it is because it is the common affair of all.

Published in the book
*Ninth Congress of the Russian
Communist Party. Verbatim Report,*
Moscow, 1920

Collected Works, Vol. 30, pp. 489

Theses on Production Propaganda

ROUGH DRAFT

(Extract)

1. In connection with the R.S.F.S.R.'s military victories and its international position in general, production propaganda must now be given special prominence, and be accentuated and organised.

2. The leading newspapers, *Izvestia* and *Pravda* in the first place, should: a) reduce the space devoted to politics, and increase space for production propaganda; b) influence all the work of the Party and of Soviet institutions, in the sense of mobilising greater forces for production propaganda; c) endeavour to work systematically to place production propaganda on a nation-wide footing, and evolve extensive measures for its encouragement and improvement, with a special view to verifying the successes actually achieved in practice.

3. In just the same way, work should be systematised, extended and developed in selecting able administrators, organisers and inventors from the masses of workingmen and peasants.

4. Throughout the R.S.F.S.R. production propaganda should be placed under the direction of a single body, with the aim of economising forces and improving guidance of this work. In this, the greatest autonomy, both local and within each trade, is indispensable. Any marked success should be systematically and judiciously rewarded (bonuses in kind, etc.). Verification of successes to be organised impartially and competently.

5. The editorial board of a mass newspaper with a circulation of between 500,000 and 1,000,000 should be made the sole body guiding production propaganda.

Bednota is the right newspaper for the purpose.

It would be harmful to have a division into an industrial newspaper and an agricultural newspaper, since it is the aim of socialism to bring industry and agriculture closer together and unite them. In practice, the guiding role of the industrial proletariat both in the cities and in the rural areas, particularly in the urbanisation of agriculture and the electrification of the entire country, calls precisely for a single newspaper devoted to problems of production (and for a single body in charge of production propaganda) both for the workers and the peasants.

6. This guiding collegiate body should consist of five members representing: 1) the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions; 2) the Supreme Council of the National Economy; 3) the People's Commissariat of Agriculture; 4) the Chief Committee for Political Education; 5) the Central Committee of the R.C.P. (or an editor-in-chief). This collegiate body and the newspaper should be attached to the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions (perhaps there should also be a representative of the Central Board for Vocational Training?).

7. This newspaper, devoted to matters of production, should be a popular one, in the sense of being understood by millions of readers, without falling into vulgarisation. The paper should not descend to the level of the uncultivated reader, but should work steadily—and by very gradual degrees—to promote his development. Little space—not exceeding a quarter of the total—should be devoted to politics. Top priority should be given to a single economic plan, to the labour front, production propaganda, the training of workers and peasants in the work of administration, to seeing that Soviet laws and measures established by Soviet institutions are given due effect, and to an extensive and properly organised exchange of opinions with the rank-and-file reader.

8. Materials published in the newspaper or addressed to it, as well as all other kinds of material, should be systematically and periodically brought out in pamphlet or leaflet form and compulsorily supplied to libraries, as well as to factories and enterprises in the given field of production (the pamphlets and leaflets should systematise all the material relating to each particular branch of production). Together with manuals and reviews of foreign technology, this material should serve to spread vocational training and *polytechnical* education.

A more rational distribution of the newspaper, as well as of pamphlets and

leaflets dealing with questions of production, among *all* libraries in the R.S.F. S.R. should, in particular, be the object of special attention.

9. It is indispensable that engineers, agronomists, schoolteachers, and also Soviet functionaries possessing definite professional qualifications, should be drawn into systematic participation in production propaganda (this in connection with the liquidation of illiteracy).

Published in 1928

Collected Works, Vol. 31, pp. 404—406

Integrated Economic Plan

(Extracts)

What is being said and written on this subject leaves a very painful impression. Take L. Kritsman's articles in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* (I—December 14, 1920; II—December 23; III—February 9; IV—February 16; and V—February 20). There is nothing there but empty talk and word-spinning, a refusal to consider and look into what has been done in this field. Five long articles of reflection on how to approach the study of facts and data, instead of any actual examination of them.

Take Milyutin's theses (*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, February 19), or Larin's (*ibid.*, February 20); listen to the speeches of "responsible" comrades: they all have the same basic defects as Kritsman's articles. They all reveal the dulllest sort of scholasticism, including a lot of twaddle about the law of concatenation, etc. It is a scholasticism that ranges from the literary to the bureaucratic, to the exclusion of all practical effort.

But what is even worse is the highbrow bureaucratic disdain for the vital work that has been done and that needs to be continued. Again and again there is the emptiest "drawing up of theses" and a concoction of plans and slogans, in place of painstaking and thoughtful study of our own practical experience.

The only serious work on the subject is the *Plan for the Electrification of the R.S.F.S.R.*, the report of GOELRO (the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia) to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, published in December 1920 and distributed at the Congress. It outlines an integrated economic plan which has been worked out—only as a rough approximation, of course—by the best brains in the Republic on the instructions of its highest bodies. We have to make a very modest start in fighting the complacency born of the ignorance of the grandees, and the intellectualist conceit of the Communist literati, by telling the story of this book, and describing its content and significance.

There are two ways in which Communists outside GOELRO can help to establish and implement the integrated economic plan. Those of them who

are economists, statisticians or writers should start by making a study of our own practical experience, and suggest corrections and improvements only after such a detailed study of the facts. Research is the business of the scientist, and once again, because we are no longer dealing with general principles, but with practical experience, we find that we can obtain much more benefit from a "specialist in science and technology", even if a bourgeois one, than from the conceited Communist who is prepared, at a moment's notice, to write "theses", issue "slogans" and produce meaningless abstractions. What we need is more factual knowledge and fewer debates on ostensible communist principles.

Pravda No. 39, February 22, 1921
Signed: N. Lenin

Collected Works, Vol. 32, pp. 137—138;
144

To G. M. Krzhizhanovsky

(Extract)

February 25

(7) I suggest that you think over the following plan (I consider it most important): to oblige *a few persons*, members of the *General Planning Commission*, systematically to present either to the Commission or to the *subcommission under § 6 reports and articles* on the fulfilment by various departments (and by various gubernias, uyezds, groups of factories, individual factories, etc.) of current economic plans and on the comparison of this fulfilment with various years and for printing in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*.

Written on February 25, 1921
First published, but not in full, in 1924
in the book: G. M. Krzhizhanovsky,
Tovaroobmen i planovaya rabota, Moscow
Published in full in 1928 in *Zapiski
Instituta Lenina*, Vol. III

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 477

To I. M. Gubkin

June 3, 1921

Comrade Gubkin
Central Oil Board

Looking through the journal *Neftyanoye i Slantsevoye Khozyaistvo*, I came across a note (p. 199), in No. 1-4 (1921), "On the Replacement of Metal Tubes by Cement Solution in the Drilling of Oil Wells".

It turns out that this can be applied in rotary drilling, which we have in Baku, as I have read in the report of the Baku comrades.

We are ruining ourselves and ruining Baku because of insufficient drilling.

It is *possible* to replace iron tubes with cement, etc., which after all is easier to come by than iron tubes, and which costs, as your own journal points out, a "quite insignificant" sum!

And this kind of information you bury in a tiny note in a super-learned journal, which perhaps one person in 1,000,000 in the R.S.F.S.R. is capable of understanding.

Why didn't you sound the big bells? Why didn't you publish it in the general press? Or appoint a committee of practical experts? Or get the Council of Labour and Defence to adopt incentives?

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 505

Instructions of the Council of Labour and Defence to Local Soviet Bodies

DRAFT

(Extracts)

One of the most important means of combating bureaucratic practices and red tape should be to check the way the laws and orders from the centre are carried out locally, and this requires the printing of *public* reports, with *non-Party* people and people not working in the departments necessarily *taking a greater hand*. *Nashe Khozyaistvo*, "the fortnightly journal of the Tver Gubernia

Economic Council" (No. 1, April 15, 1912; No. 2, April 30, 1921), is evidence that the local need to study, elucidate and publicise the results of our economic experience is being realised and satisfied the correct way. It will not be possible, of course, to publish a journal in every gubernia, not within the next few months, at any rate; nor will it be possible everywhere to have a fortnightly printing of 3,000 copies, as is the case in Tver. But every gubernia, and every uyezd even, can—and should—compile a report on local economic activities once every two months (or initially at longer intervals, by way of exception) and issue it in a printing of, say, 100 to 300 copies. The paper and the printing facilities for such a small operation will surely be found everywhere, provided we realise its urgency and importance, and see the necessity to satisfy this need by taking the paper from many of the departments which print a mass of useless and hardly urgent material. The copy could be set up in small type and printed in two columns (as the comrades in Tver are doing); the feasibility and urgency of this will be quite clear if we realise the simple truth that even a hundred copies, distributed one to every gubernia library and all the major state libraries, will provide a source of information for *the whole of Russia*, which may perhaps be scanty but *sure*, and will serve as a record of experience.

24. Electrification

What measures have been taken to carry out the decision of the Eighth Congress of Soviets to conduct extensive propaganda of the electrification plan? How many articles on the subject have appeared in the local newspapers?

27. Press Publicity for Economic Work

Local publications and *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*. How is economic work treated in the press? Participation of non-Party people? Verification and appraisal of practical experience?

Circulation of local publications and of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*? Are they available at the libraries and accessible to the public?

Publication of pamphlets and books on economic development. Give list of the publications issued.

Demand for foreign literature: to what extent is it satisfied? Are the publications of the Bureau of Foreign Science and Technology delivered? If so, what opinion is expressed about them? Other foreign publications in Russian and other languages?

Published as a pamphlet in 1921

Collected Works, Vol. 32, pp. 382, 396, 397

Speech on Local Economic Bodies Delivered at a Sitting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee

May, 30 1921

(Extracts)

One of the main objects of printing the reports is to bring them within reach of the non-Party masses, and of the population in general. We cannot use mass production methods and print these reports in large numbers, and so we must concentrate them in the libraries. That being the case, we must arrange for brief printed summaries of these reports, giving the gist of what is of most interest to the population. The technical facilities for this are available. Before coming here to speak I made inquiries of the representative of the Central Paper Board. He has sent me a precise report covering 339 uyezd centres, and showing that each of these has the printing facilities and the paper to print very brief reports. He has based his calculations on the assumption that the smallest of these uyezd centres would print 16 pages in octavo, once a month, of course. But once a month is too often. Whether you decide on once in two months, or in four, or perhaps even a longer period, will evidently be determined by the reports we get from the localities. He has assumed that there would be 1,000 copies, and has accordingly estimated that the required quantity of paper is now available. A thousand copies would enable us to supply these reports at least to every uyezd library and so bring them within the reach of all who are interested in them, particularly the masses of non-Party people. Of course, this will initially have to be an experiment; no one can guarantee that it will be successful at once, and that there will be no defects . . .

What we really lack is the ability to publicise the best examples—which are not many—and set them up as models which all should be obliged to emulate. Our press does not publicise these really exemplary local organisations which have practical experience. Printing these reports and bringing them within the reach of the broad masses of the population, by supplying copies to every library, if only on the uyezd level, should help—provided conferences of non-Party people are properly convened—to enlist far greater numbers in the economic drive. Any number of resolutions have been passed on this subject. In some places, something has been done, but taking the country as a whole, certainly far too little is being done. By this method, however, we shall improve the work of the establishments and make it possible for every local worker in every responsible economic post to provide the centre with signed reports containing precise and definite information on his practical

experience, which could be used as a model. This seems to be what we lack most at the present time.

First published in full in *I-IV sessii Vserossiiskogo Tsentralnogo Ispolnitelnogo Komiteta VIII sozyva. Stenograficheski otchet (I-IV Sessions of the Eighth All-Russia Central Executive Committee. Verbatim Report)*. Moscow, 1922

Collected Works, Vol. 32, pp. 439, 440

Letter to the Central Statistical Board

TO THE MANAGER OF THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD

(Extracts)

August 16

Comrade Popov,

The correspondence with the Central Statistical Board, particularly the data supplied to me on August 3 on current industrial statistics, has made it perfectly clear to me that my instructions (in the letter of June 4, 1921) are not being carried out at all and that the entire work, the entire organisation of the Central Statistical Board is wrong.

The data given to me on August 3 as current industrial statistics are obsolete and were supplied *multa non multum*—of considerable volume but small content! That is exactly like the “bureaucratic institutions”, from which you said in your letter of June 11, 1921 you want to separate the Central Statistical Board.

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn has already printed much fuller data in the supplement to its No. 152 issue, i. e., in *July*!

From the same *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* I have already had data for the first quarter of 1921!

The Central Statistical Board, which *lags behind* an unofficial group of writers, is a model bureaucratic institution. In about two years' time it may provide a heap of data for research, but that is not what we want . . .

2) current statistics (both industrial and agricultural) must give summarised, practical key data (postponing academic analyses of “full” data) never later but necessarily *earlier* than our press . . .

5) Every month the Central Statistical Board must submit to the Council of Labour and Defence—it must be done before it is in the press—*preliminary* data on key problems of the economy (with a compulsory comparison with the preceding year). These key problems, key figures, both those that go into the “index-number” and those that do not, must be worked on immediately.

Please send me the programme of these questions and the reply on other points without delay.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*),
Chairman of the Council
of People's Commissars

Written on August 16, 1921
First published in 1933
in the magazine *Bolshevik* No 17

Collected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 30, 31, 32

Letter to the Editors of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*

September 1

The conversion of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* into the official organ of the Council of Labour and Defence should not be a simple and empty formality.

The paper must become a militant organ that not only, first, provides regular and truthful information on our economy but, secondly, analyses the information, processes it scientifically to arrive at the right conclusions for the management of industry, etc., and, thirdly and lastly, *tightens up the discipline* of all workers on the economic front, ensures punctuality in reporting, approves good work and exposes inaccurate, backward and incompetent workers in a certain factory, office, branch of economy, etc., to the judgement of all.

The paper provides a mass of valuable, especially statistical, material on our economy. That material, however, suffers from two faults—it is casual, incomplete, unsystematic and, what is more, not processed, not analysed.

I will give you examples to explain this.

The article "The Moscow Basin in July" (No. 188) is one of the best because it analyses the data, compares them with the past and compares the enterprises one with another. The analysis, however, is incomplete. There is no explanation of why one enterprise (the Tovarkovo mines) has solved a problem others have not solved. No practical deduction is made. There is no comparison with annual data.

In issue No. 190, on page 2, there is an abundance of statistical details, usual for the paper, but they are not "digested" at all, they are casual, raw, without a suggestion of analysis and are not compared (with the past or with other enterprises), etc.

The following changes must be made if the paper is to be the real organ of the Council of Labour and Defence, and not its organ in words alone.

(1) Keep a strict check on unpunctual and incomplete reports sent to relevant organisations and publicly list those that are inaccurate; at the same

time *work to ensure* (through the People's Commissariat concerned or through the directorate of the Council of Labour and Defence) precise reporting.

(2) All statistical data must be much more strictly, that is, more carefully and thoroughly, systematised, and data must be obtained for comparison, always using the data for past years (past months, etc.); always material for analysis that will explain the *reasons* for failure, and will *make prominent* some successfully operating enterprises or, at least, those that are ahead of the rest, etc.

(3) Organise a network of local correspondents, both Communists and *non-Party people*; allot greater space to local correspondence from factories, mines, state farms, railway depots and workshops, etc.

(4) Publish returns on the most important problems of our economy as special supplements. The returns absolutely must be processed, with an all-round analysis and practical conclusions.

Since we are short of newsprint, we must economise. And we probably can. For instance, reduce the number of copies from 44,000 to 30,000 (quite enough if correctly distributed, allowing two copies to each of 10,000 volosts, four to each of 1,000 uyezds, ten to each of 100 gubernias and 5,000 extra—all of them to go only to libraries, editorial offices and a few institutions). That will leave enough newsprint for eight supplements, each of two pages, a month.

That would be sufficient for monthly returns on a large number of important points (fuel; industry—two or three supplements; transport; food supplies; state farms, etc.).

These supplements should provide summarised statistics on the most important branches of the economy and they should be processed and analysed, and practical conclusions should be drawn from them.

The entire statistical material in the daily paper—there is a great deal of it but it is fragmentary—should be *adjusted* to the monthly reports and shorn of all details and trivialities, etc.

Since, in many cases, *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* and the Central Statistical Board use the same sources, the supplements to the newspaper should (for the time being) replace the publications of the Central Statistical Board.

(5) All current statistical material should be divided between (a) employees of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, (b) members of the State Planning Commission and (c) members or employees of the Central Statistical Board in such a way that each should be in charge of *one* branch of the economy, and should be *responsible for*—

(aa) the timely receipt of reports and summaries; for a successful “struggle” to get them; for repeated demands for them, etc.;

(bb) for the summarising and analysis of data, and

(cc) for practical conclusions.

(6) *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* must keep track of enterprises granted as concessions and those *leased*, as far as their reporting is concerned and also by way of supervision and the drawing of conclusions, *in the same way* as it keeps track of all others.

Please arrange for a conference to include an editor of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, one member of the Central Statistical Board and one member of the State Planning Commission to discuss these questions and measures to be taken. Please inform me of the decisions of the conference.

Lenin,

Chairman of the Council of Labour and Defence

P. S. Will that conference please discuss the question of elaborating an index-number* to determine the general state of our economy. This index should be published every month.

First published on November 6, 1923
in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* No. 31

Collected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 36—38

Letter to D. I. Kursky and Instruction to a Secretary

(Extract)

September 3

Comrade Kursky, *People's Commissar for Justice*,

and his deputy, and also all the members of the Collegium

I have sent you through the Office Manager of the Council of People's Commissars a statement from Professor Graftio with astonishing documents about red tape.

This red tape is just what is to be expected, especially in the Moscow and central institutions. But all the more attention should be given to fighting it.

My impression is that the People's Commissariat of Justice is purely formal, i.e., radically wrong, in its attitude to this question.

What is needed is:

- (1) to bring this matter before the courts;
- (2) to secure the disgrace of those guilty, both in the press and by strict punishment.

Written on September 3, 1921
First published in *Pravda* No. 30,
February 6, 1927

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 521

* These words are in English in the original. — Ed.

Note to G. I. Krumin

Discuss the following, and let's make a final draft:

That it should be recognised as absolutely necessary to pay particularly great attention to collecting *information* (both through special correspondents, without however appointing *them only for this purpose*, and through all the special representatives of the *Council of Labour and Defence* and the People's Commissariats; and likewise— most important of all—from the *regular* local reports *to the appropriate bodies*), information coming directly from local bodies (works, mines, separate log camps, etc.). The collection and *analysis* of information coming, not only from the Chief Boards, but from these organs operating on the spot, must become one of the most important tasks of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

Written on October 7, 1921
First published on January 26, 1924
in the newspaper *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*
No. 96

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 547

Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)

March 27 — April 2, 1922

POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P. (B)
March 27

(Extracts)

On the whole you know everything about Genoa, because much has been written about it in the newspapers—in my opinion too much, to the detriment of the real, practical and urgent requirements of our work of construction in general, and of our economic development in particular. In Europe, in all bourgeois countries, of course, they like to occupy people's minds, or stuff their heads, with all sorts of trash about Genoa. On this occasion (I would say not only on this occasion) we are copying them, and copying them far too much...

The European bourgeois press is artificially and deliberately inflating and exaggerating the importance of this Conference in order to deceive the masses of the working people (as nine-tenths of the bourgeois press in all

these free democratic countries and republics always does). We have succumbed to the influence of this press to some extent. As usual, our press still yields to the old bourgeois habits; it refuses to adopt new, socialist methods, and we have made a greater fuss about this subject than it deserves. In fact, for Communists, especially for those who have lived through such stern years as we have lived through since 1917, and witnessed the formidable political combinations that have appeared in that period, Genoa does not present any great difficulties . . .

On the question of state capitalism, I think that generally our press and our Party make the mistake of dropping into intellectualism, into liberalism; we philosophise about how state capitalism is to be interpreted, and look into old books. But in those old books you will not find what we are discussing; they deal with the state capitalism that exists under capitalism. Not a single book has been written about state capitalism under communism. It did not occur even to Marx to write a word on this subject; and he died without leaving a single precise statement or definite instruction on it. That is why we must overcome the difficulty entirely by ourselves. And if we make a general mental survey of our press and see what has been written about state capitalism, as I tried to do when I was preparing this report, we shall be convinced that it is missing the target, that it is looking in an entirely wrong direction . . .

Passing laws, passing better decrees, etc., is not now the main object of our attention. There was a time when the passing of decrees was a form of propaganda. People used to laugh at us and say that the Bolsheviks do not realise that their decrees are not being carried out; the entire whiteguard press was full of jeers on that score. But at that period this passing of decrees was quite justified. We Bolsheviks had just taken power, and we said to the peasant, to the worker: "Here is a decree; this is how we would like to have the state administered. Try it!" From the very outset we gave the ordinary workers and peasants an idea of our policy in the form of decrees. The result was the enormous confidence we enjoyed and now enjoy among the masses of the people. This was an essential period at the beginning of the revolution; without it we should not have risen on the crest of the revolutionary wave; we should have wallowed in its trough. Without it we should not have won the confidence of all the workers and peasants who wanted to build their lives on new lines. But this period has passed, and we refuse to understand this. Now the peasants and workers will laugh at us if we order this or that government department to be formed or reorganised. The ordinary workers and peasants will display no interest in this now, and they will be right, because this is not the central task today. This is not the sort of thing with which we Communists should now go to the people. Although we who are engaged in government departments are always overwhelmed with so many petty affairs, this is not the link that we must grasp, this is not the key feature. The key feature is that we have not got the right men in the right places; that responsible Communists who acquitted themselves magnificently during the revolution have been given

commercial and industrial functions about which they know nothing; and they prevent us from seeing the truth, for rogues and rascals hide magnificently behind their backs. The trouble is that we have no such thing as practical control of how things have been done. This is a prosaic job, a small job; these are petty affairs. But after the greatest political change in history, bearing in mind that for a time we shall have to live in the midst of the capitalist system, the key feature now is not politics in the narrow sense of the word (what we read in the newspapers is just political fireworks; there is nothing socialist in it at all), the key feature is not resolutions, not departments and not reorganisation. As long as these things are necessary we shall do them, but don't go to the people with them. Choose the proper men and introduce practical control. That is what the people will appreciate.

Published in 1922 in *Odnadtsaty syezd R.K.P. (B.). Stenografichesky otchet* (Eleventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party [Bolsheviks]. Verbatim Report), Moscow, Publishing Department of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.

Collected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 263, 277, 278, 304

Decree on the Functions of the Deputy Chairmen of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Council of Labour and Defence

II SPECIFIC QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE WORK OF THE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN

(Extract)

16. The reports of the gubernia economic conferences must be read regularly, firstly, by the members of the State Planning Commission, the officials of the Central Statistical Board and the staff of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*; and every one of these should write a very brief review for the press or for his respective department, and be responsible for giving the necessary timely directions and conclusions. Secondly, they must be read by a group of several dozen Communists (not less), as far as possible not Soviet officials, who can read reports from the *purely* Communist and not from the departmental point of view.

The group headed by Comrade Milyutin in Petrograd should have charge of the distribution of the reports of the gubernia economic conferences for reading, and as material for newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, etc.

Constant efforts must be made gradually to extend the obligatory printing of reports to an ever increasing number of business organisations (uye zd economic conferences, state trusts, "mixed companies", etc., etc.), for unless an increasing number of the population grow accustomed to reading these reports in the libraries, it is useless talking about transforming this semi-barbarous country into a cultured and socialistic one.

17. *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* must actually become the organ of the *Council of Labour and Defence*, an organ of business administration. Both Deputy Chairmen should read it regularly and relentlessly combat the prevailing efforts of all writers and of all Soviet officials to reduce this newspaper to the level of an ordinary "semi-independent", intellectualist bourgeois organ of "opinion", views and wrangling and to keep out of its columns summaries of reports, control of regular receipt of these reports, serious analysis of the business operations of particular organisations, serious criticism of efficient and inefficient offices, persons, methods of work, etc.

It will take years to convert *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* into a real business management paper, into a real organ of socialist construction; all the more necessary is it, therefore, to strive steadily and systematically to achieve this.

18. The same applies to the Central Statistical Board. It must not be an "academic" and "independent" organisation—as it mostly is today, owing to old bourgeois habits—but an organ of socialist construction, verification, control and of registration of what the socialist state must primarily know now, immediately. Here, too, the tenacity of old habits will inevitably be very great, and all the more strenuous, therefore, must be the efforts to combat them. (I request that the Deputy Chairmen read my correspondence on this subject in the summer of 1921 with the editor of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* and with the Central Statistical Board.)

First published in 1928

Collected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 338—339

To N. Osinsky

Copies to

- 1) The Editorial Board of *Pravda*
- 2) Comrade Steklov
- 3) Rykov and Tsyurupa

April 12, 1922

Comrade Osinsky,

I very much welcome your article in today's *Pravda*: "New Data from Local Experience". It is just such articles that we need most of all, and I think that every People's Commissariat ought to "provide itself" with a publicist (very closely connected with the work of the People's Commissariat and the People's Commissar) to make such reviews.

The worst of our features is an excess of general disquisitions in the press, and political prattle with an extreme lack of *study* of local experience. Both in the provinces and in the centre, powerful tendencies resist its truthful publicity and truthful evaluation. They are afraid of washing dirty linen in public, afraid of the naked truth, and brush it aside with a meaningful glance, taking a superficial attitude, as Comrade Trotsky correctly said.

We need more and more concreteness in studying local experience, details, the little things, practice, business-like experience, going deeply into real life—*uyezd*, *volost* and village; examination of what, where, by whom and why (by what means) success is achieved, in spite of the abyss of poverty and ruin, in reaching genuine improvement, even if on a small scale, and courage to unmask mistakes and incapacity, popularising and *advertising* with all our strength every local worker who is in any way outstanding, and making him a model. The more such work is done, the deeper we go into living practice, distracting the attention of both ourselves and our readers from the stinking bureaucratic and stinking intellectual Moscow (and, in general, Soviet bourgeois) atmosphere, the greater will be our success in improving both our press and all our constructive work.

Once again I welcome your initiative, and very much wish that you should continue it further, on a wider scale and more *deeply* in the same direction.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in part on February 17,
1956 in *Pravda* No. 48
Published in full on April 22, 1956
in *Pravda* No. 113

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 578

To N. P. Gorbunov

(Extract)

Then I ask you to investigate the affair of the idleness of the Swedish works, Nydqvist och Holms (*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* No. 194, p. 4). "*They were slow in getting out*" the order for water-driven turbines! Of which we have a terrible lack! This is the height of disgrace and shamelessness! Make sure to *find out* who is to blame so that we can send these scoundrels to rot in prison.

Written on September 3, 1921
First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 544

To A. S. Kiselyov

Comrade Kiselyov, Chairman of the Narrow Council
Copies to Comrades Bogdanov, Unshlikht, Avanesov
and Kursky

I draw your attention to the note by Mikhels in *Izvestia* No. 203 of Sept. 13

The author writes that since 1918, 2.5 million poods of most valuable metal cargoes have been lying in store, almost in a swamp, unregistered and unguarded, and are being pilfered and ruined.

I ask you urgently to check up if that is true.

If it is, take all the necessary steps immediately to register, preserve, etc., this property, and to bring those guilty most strictly to book.

Give me a detailed written report, pointing out the names and posts of the persons guilty of this scandal, and make a communication to the Council of Labour and Defence.

I ask you to do all this with the utmost urgency.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on September 15, 1921
First published in 1928
in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 546

Section IX

PRINCIPLES OF EDITORIAL WORK

NEWSPAPER STYLE

Article for "Rabochaya Gazeta"

LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL GROUP

Dear Comrades!

In response to your request I am sending three articles for the newspaper and deem it essential to say a few words about my collaboration in general and the relations between us in particular.

From your previous communication I gathered that you wanted to found a publishing firm and give me a series of Social-Democratic pamphlets to edit.

Now I see that matters are different, that you have set up your Editorial Board, which is beginning the publication of a newspaper and invites me to collaborate.

Needless to say, I agree willingly to this proposal as well, but I must state, in doing so, that I consider successful collaboration possible *only on the following terms*: 1) *regular* relations between the editors and the collaborator, *who shall be informed* of decisions on all manuscripts (accepted, rejected, changed) and of *all publications of your firm*; 2) my articles to be signed with a special pseudonym (if the one I sent you has been lost, choose another yourselves); 3) agreement between the editors and the collaborator on fundamental views concerning theoretical questions, concerning immediate practical tasks, and concerning the desired character of the newspaper (or series of pamphlets).

I hope the editors will agree to these terms and, in order to effect the earliest possible agreement between us, I will deal in brief with the questions arising out of the third condition.

I am informed that you find that "the old current is strong" and that there

is no particular need for a polemic against Bernsteinism and its Russian echoers. I consider this view to be too optimistic. Bernstein's public announcement that the majority of the Russian Social-Democrats agree with him; the split between the "young" Russian Social-Democrats abroad and the Emancipation of Labour group which is the founder, the representative, and the most faithful custodian of the "old current"; the vain efforts of *Rabochaya Mysl* to say some new word, to revolt against the "extensive" political tasks, to raise petty matters and amateurish work to the heights of apotheosis, to wax vulgarly ironical over "revolutionary theories" (No. 7, "In Passing"); lastly, complete disorder in the legal Marxist literature and the frantic efforts on the part of the majority of its representatives to seize upon Bernsteinism, the "criticism" *à la mode*—all this, in my opinion, serves to show clearly that the re-establishment of the "old current" and its energetic defence is a matter of real urgency.

You will see from the articles what my views on the tasks of the paper and the plan of its publication are, and I should very much like to know the extent of our solidarity on this question (unfortunately the articles have been written in somewhat of a hurry: it is very important for me to know the deadline for their delivery).

I think it is *necessary to launch a direct polemic against Rabochaya Mysl*, but for this purpose I should like to receive Nos. 1-2, 6, and those following 7; also *Proletarskaya Borba*. I need the last-named pamphlet also in order to review it in the paper.

As to length, you write that I am to impose no constraint on myself. I think that as long as there is a newspaper I shall give preference to newspaper articles and deal in them even with pamphlet themes, reserving for myself the right to work the articles up into pamphlets at a later date. The subjects with which I propose to deal in the immediate future are: 1) the Draft Programme (I'll send it soon); 2) questions of tactics and organisation that are to be discussed at the next congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party; 3) a pamphlet on rules of conduct for workers and socialists at liberty, in prison, and in exile—modelled after the Polish pamphlet (on "rules of conduct"—if you can, I should like you to obtain it for me); 4) strikes (I—their significance, II—laws on strikes; III—a review of some of the strikes of recent years); 5) the pamphlet, *Woman and the Working-Class Cause*, and others.

I should like to know approximately what material the Editorial Board has in hand, so as to avoid repetition and the tackling of questions that have already been "exhausted."

I shall await an answer from the Editorial Board through the same channels. (*Apart from this way I have not had nor have I any other means of communicating with your group*).

F. P.

Written not early than October 1899
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 4, pp. 207—209

To P. B. Axelrod

(Extract)

November 3

As regards the article on Liebknecht, truly we don't know what to do. Your article turned out to be long enough *for the journal*: 8 pages (according to V. I., similar to those in *Nakanune* in small type, i.e., about 8,000 letters per page)—this makes 64,000 letters, and even if we take *Nakanune*'s larger type, it will come to *about 50,000 letters!* Our paper will have the *Vorwärts* format, also in three columns. Each column of about 6,000 letters, which means that *half* your article will take up an entire page of the newspaper, plus another column! This is extremely inconvenient for the paper, apart from the inconvenience of dividing up such an article as yours about Liebknecht.

I will calculate all this more precisely when your article arrives. We shall do our best to carry it, but if this proves to be impossible because of the size, will you be so good as to allow us to publish it as a pamphlet supplement to the paper (if you are writing about Liebknecht separately for the journal)? We are now setting up the *May Day Demonstrations in Kharkov* pamphlet (50,000 letters); then will come the turn of the paper, and then of your pamphlet about Liebknecht; if it proves necessary, an obituary could be written for the paper, with a reference to the pamphlet. What do you think of that?

I repeat that all this is mere supposition; it is essential to make an exact calculation, and when I do this, on receipt of your article, I will write to you at once.

I wish you all the best, and particularly that you should get well again as soon as possible. Kindest regards to your family.

Yours,

Petrov

Written on November 3, 1900
Sent from Munich to Zurich
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 45

To Y. M. Steklov

(Extract)

Letter to Nakhamkis

1. We shall carry it.
2. The plusses of the article. [Remarks about the mass and Social-Democratic mass movement—the impossibility for Social-Democrats to renounce their strict Social-Democratic principles even for a moment—about propaganda and agitation, and the relationship between political rights and political freedom. About not narrowing down the significance of May Day, etc.]

3. The minus. Some minor alterations in the article are desirable, and we suggest what they might be, hoping that joint discussions of them will bring us to complete agreement.

Firstly, there is need for a summing-up of what has been said, a résumé, a conclusion, as you yourself have already pointed out. Secondly, in connection with this, a rewording of some passages and a shortening of the rest of the article (whose total length *must not exceed 1 printed sheet*) are desirable (for example, the following passages might be cut down: p. 3 [N.B. 2]; p. 39 [N.B. 16] and some others). It seems to us that the rewording should consist in the following: the whole form of the article has become something of a challenge (“open letter”, the official form of address, etc.), and this is hardly desirable. You yourself pointed out some of the extremes in the present polemics (“Mr. G.’s stalwarts”, and similar things) and *you were quite right*; but since these extremes were there, we should now be more careful—not in the sense of conceding one iota of principle, but in the sense of refraining from *needlessly* embittering those who are working for Social-Democracy within the limits of their understanding. Perhaps a criticism of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* programme in the third person would be better in this respect?

For the same reasons it would be appropriate to make some “allowance” for the formal side of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* programme. After all, it is not the programme of a party, nor even the draft programme of a party, so that it is incorrect to compare it with the programmes of the French and German Social-Democrats (at any rate, when such a comparison is made without reservations, as it is on your p. 42 [N.B. 17]). The criticism of the *formal* side of the programme could be abbreviated (you yourself expressed the desire, on p. 2, to “leave aside” the formal defects), reducing the formal shortcomings, as *particular* cases, to the *general* defect of the programme in principle. We think that such an alteration is desirable with respect to the critical remarks on pp. 45 (N.B. 20), 39 (N.B. 16), 20 (N.B. 9) and 6 (N.B. 6). The brusque formulation of these remarks here and there might give the people occasion to

speak (and not entirely without foundation) of faultfinding. The superfluous (from the strictly theoretical standpoint) reminder of the need to reckon with local conditions, etc., could be the result, not of the editorial board having failed to master scientific socialism, but of its wishing to emphasise this quite obvious point just at this moment, when it saw the need to do so. And is there not sometimes a need to stress even self-evident things? We *do not deny at all* that, in the present case, 75 per cent—only 75 per cent—of the “need” boiled down to the “need” of bowing and scraping before *Rabochaya Mysl*. If we forget about the remaining 25 per cent, we shall give the people a chance to accuse us of faultfinding, whereas if we reduce these formal defects, *as particular instances*, to the general defect of principle, we shall take the faultfinding edge off our remarks and reinforce our line of argument.

Written not later than September 4, 1900 *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, pp. 29—30
Sent from Nuremberg to Paris
First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

To G. V. Plekhanov

November 9

I received your letter today, dear Georgi Valentinovich, and at once sent you by registered book-post (1) the article “What Has Happened?” by Puttman; (2) the article by Byvaly, and (3) the article by D. Koltsov about the Paris Congress.

Vera Ivanovna found this last article quite unacceptable and I entirely agree with her. The article is uninteresting, quite unsuitable for the journal (especially since you will be writing about Millerand) and much too long for the paper. It contains 22,000-27,000 letters, whereas for the paper we need an item of 6,000-9,000 letters or only a little more. We would therefore like to ask Rakovsky to write an article of that size for the paper, and to reject Koltsov’s article. We decided to send it on to you, all the more since you were going to reply to Rakovsky. So do as you find most appropriate—either reject Koltsov’s article and order one from Rakovsky, or request Koltsov to rewrite and shorten the article, under your guidance. It seems to us more probable that you will choose the first alternative, and in that case you can of course refer to us when informing Koltsov, and we can write to him ourselves as soon as we get your reply.

I am sending the article by Byvaly for polishing up and insertion of some corrections which you indicated. Of course you may make corrections: please do so with all the articles, either making them in pencil right in the manuscript or on separate sheets. I can, if you like, write to Byvaly afterwards about these

corrections—he is not likely to take a rigid stand, but if he does, we shall have to discuss the matter and make a choice: whether or not to take the whole as it is. The only thing I cannot agree with you on at all is the suggestion to cut out the mention of Bakharev's pamphlet, and this not so much because it would be extremely unpleasant for the author, as because I, too, consider Bakharev's pamphlet useful (in spite of its defects), for it raises a really important point and, on the whole, deals with it correctly. Byvaly writes not only about the old but also about the new; if serious revolutionaries had no need of such pamphlets in the 1870s, we nowadays certainly have need of them, and we had the firm intention to print a critical but approving note about it (possibly in the paper, but not in No. 1). The fact that quite young workers and intellectuals are being drawn into the mass movement, who have almost completely forgotten, or rather have no knowledge of what used to happen in the old days and how, and the absence of organisation of "experienced" revolutionaries—all this makes it necessary to publish pamphlets about rules of behaviour for socialists. The Poles have such a pamphlet, which seems to give a great deal more than Bakharev's does. Vera Ivanovna agrees that the mention of Bakharev should not be cut out. In certain conditions, if you think it useful, a discussion in the journal on the question of the possible importance of such pamphlets might perhaps not be altogether irrelevant.

We intend Byvaly's article for the journal and not the paper. Vera Ivanovna says that our paper turns out to be at a lower level, in terms of the readers for whom it is intended, than you probably imagine. Vera Ivanovna is on the whole rather dissatisfied with the paper: she says it is of the *Rabocheye Dyelo type*, only somewhat more literary, more brushed up. I have sent one article to Pavel Borisovich, asking him to send it on to you. It would be quite inconvenient to have the question of Kautsky's resolution shortened and abridged to the size of a newspaper article and that is why we should like the journal to carry an article or item on this question by you. Or perhaps you intend to confine yourself to something very small? Probably even an item on this subject will require about 10 printed pages, i.e., about 20,000 letters, if not more?

I must say that I thought you would be willing to write an item about Solovyov. Puttman is hardly likely to take it on. I shall write to him, but I am not very hopeful.

Vera Ivanovna is prepared to write about the Decembrists, but what about the material? We shall write immediately to have them send us what they can. Perhaps you too will suggest what it would be particularly important to have for this work. I think the most important thing is the historical journals, which are not available here.

Gurevich is writing a big article for the journal on French affairs, and for the newspaper on the national congress. Goldendakh or Nakhamkis was going to write about the International Congress, but did not.

Please send us your article, "Socialism and the Political Struggle" (it can be sent by registered book-post to the same address of Lehmann); I doubt that

Alexei would not like the article because of the comradely criticism, for I remember him telling me that he found the objections of Pavel Borisovich to be justified.

We shall number the separate sheets (unless they have been numbered already) and I don't think the compositors will lose anything; after all, they always have to deal with separate sheets, and the same applies to our paper, and so far they have never lost anything. The question of "responsible editor" will evidently be settled favourably, I think, tomorrow or the day after (today I received news that two have agreed, and am expecting vital information tomorrow). We think that all the same we shall not manage (initially, at least) without the help of Blumenfeld, whom Dietz has agreed to take on as a compositor, and who would *put the thing on its feet* for us, train the Germans, etc. As soon as all this is finally cleared up, I shall write or telegraph to him at once. But I should very much like to have your article, "Once More", etc., as soon as possible, because we might have to send it for setting immediately.

Against *Rabochaya Mysl*—more precisely, only against the article "Our Reality" in the *Separate Supplement*—I had an article, "The Retrograde Movement in Russian Social-Democracy", written as far back as a year ago. It has now been sent here to me, and I am thinking of rewriting it for the journal, with additional material directed against *Rabocheye Dyelo*.

I don't quite understand to which "latest No." of *Rabochaya Mysl* you refer. No. 8 was the last issue of the paper (a new editorial board "from page 5"). which, incidentally, carries a *repudiation* of the famous *parallels* at the end of the article on Chernyshevsky in the *Separate Supplement*. Is that what you have in mind?

I would think the item, "To What Lengths They Have Gone", a useful one though *now* I doubt the "belligerency" of *Rabochaya Mysl*: they nevertheless want to take a few steps "towards us" (*passez moi le mot**), and we ought to try to consider them *verbesserungsfähig*.** But of course there *should* be an attack in any case: they won't change unless attacked. I have been corresponding lately with Vetrinskaya, an old comrade of mine in the League, and told her that I supported Alexei's words: "We shall have to wrestle with you." Go ahead, if you are not ashamed, she told Alexei. I wrote to say that I was not in the least ashamed.

I should also like to have a talk with you about the economic trend and Alexei's views, but it is already very late, and I will confine myself to a few words. The economic *trend*, of course, was always a mistake, but then it is very young, while there has been *overemphasis* of "economic" agitation (*and there still is here and there*) even without the trend, and it was the legitimate and inevitable companion of *any step forward* in the conditions of our movement which *existed in Russia* at the end of the 1880s or the beginning of the 1890s.

* Excuse the expression. — Ed.

** Capable of improvement, not entirely hopeless. — Ed.

The situation then was so murderous that you cannot probably even imagine it, and one should not censure people who stumbled as they clambered up out of that situation. For the purposes of this clambering out, some narrowness was essential and legitimate: *was*, I say, for with this tendency to blow it up into a theory and tie it in with Bernsteinism, the whole thing of course changed radically. But that the overemphasis of "economic" agitation and catering to the "mass" movement were natural, you too, unless I'm mistaken, recognised in "The New Campaign" written in 1896, when Vilna Economism was already *a l'ordre du jour*,* while St. Petersburg economism was emerging and taking shape.

Every good wish, and please excuse the disorderly writing.

Yours,
Petroff

Written on November 9, 1900
Sent from Munich to Geneva
First published in 1956
in *Kommunist* No. 16

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 48—52

To the Borba Group

February 3, 1901

Dear Comrades,

We are deeply distressed over your letter of refusal to co-operate. Our letter to Nevzorov (a letter with a special enclosure for you of the "statement", the No. 1 of *Iskra*, and a proof of Ryazanov's article) and your refusal letter must have crossed, having been sent off at the same time.

This alone will show you how far it was from us to keep you from taking part in our affairs. We ask you to excuse the delay—that is indeed our fault, but you must bear in mind that we suffer as much as you do from the "indefinite state of relations". We have strictly abided by our group's decision not to circulate the newspaper abroad before it is circulated in Russia, making an exception only for our closest associates, including your good selves. Until quite recently, we had been altogether uncertain as to whether the paper would circulate in Russia (even today we cannot *vouch* for it); we had our hands full in this matter in connection with some fresh negotiations (with the liberal democrats—so far a *big secret*!), and this delayed fulfilment of the decision adopted a fortnight or so ago to send you the issue of *Iskra*.

Our statement has not yet been circulated in Russia but has only been *shown* to several persons.

* On the agenda.—Ed.

We repeat that what has happened is the result not of any lack of concern but of the indefiniteness and bustle from which we ourselves have not yet emerged. We should be very happy to see the misunderstandings produced by this cleared up and find you taking your old attitude to our common cause.

Comradely greetings,

Petrov

Sent from Munich to Paris
First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 67—68

To P. B. Axelrod

(Extract)

July 21, 1901

Dear P. B.,

I was intending to reply to your letter, but kept putting it off until I received the article. Don't be in any particular hurry with it, if it is hard work, or even give up reading it altogether, to give yourself a rest and have some proper treatment. G. V. has already written to me in considerable detail where he sees changes desirable, and I shall of course try to make *all* these changes (but as to changing the *tone* . . . I really don't know whether I can do that. It is hardly likely that I can write in diplomatic tones about a gentleman who arouses such violent feelings in me. And I don't think G. V. is quite right when he says that my "hatred" will be incomprehensible for the reader: I will quote the example of Parvus, who, without any knowledge of the author, after reading the introduction felt the same hostility to this "dolt", as he called him—but that is in parenthesis). I very much disapproved of our having imposed two jobs on you (reading my article and Orthodox's) just when you had gone away for treatment and a rest. Try rather to make really good use of the period of your treatment, and do not by any means burden yourself with a close reading of the manuscripts.

Sent from Munich to Zurich
First published in part in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*
First published in full
in the Fifth Russian Edition
of *Collected Works*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 91

To G. V. Plekhanov

July 25, 1901

Dear G. V.,

Yesterday I received the books on the agrarian question. Thank you for them. I am pretty deeply immersed in my "agrarian" article against Chernov (and partly Hertz and Bulgakov). I think this Chernov needs to be trounced *unmercifully*.

Velika was here just now and read extracts from your letter to her. As regards the proofs, we have already done "everything in our power", i.e., we have sent Dietz corrections to be inserted in the text if it is not too late; if it is, we shall specify them *without fail* at the end of the book so that there will be no great harm done really. My wife read the proofs and compared them with the manuscript (the phrase on which you have made the marginal note, "I didn't have that!" proved to be a slip of the pen on your part. As I have just seen from the manuscript, you actually did write "the May uprising". We have corrected this too). Since proof-reader mistakes are unavoidable, we shall from now on apply the "tactics" proposed by you: we shall send the author the *first* proofs (the second will be too late), for him to correct not individual letters and characters, since that will be done by the proof-reader and is indeed not important, but *only places where the sense is distorted* by the omission of words and phrases or by the replacement of one word by another.

I received my article from P. B. with his letter. P. B. is also in favour of toning it down. Needless to say, I have already *introduced* all the mitigations concretely indicated by you and P. B. As regards changing the whole tone of the article, or replacing all attacks by tongue-in-cheek edification, although I like this plan of yours, I doubt whether I *could* do it. If I didn't feel any "irritation" against the author I would not have written like that. But since there is "irritation" (understandable not only to us but to every Social-Democratic reader of the preface), I am no longer able to conceal it, and cannot exercise cunning here. I shall try to tone it down still more and make still further reservations; perhaps something will come of it.

I shall pass on to Alexei your comments on his essay (he has long been looking forward to them). He probably forgot to tell you that *he himself* passed his subject about Mikhailovsky on to Ryazanov (the latter is now writing it). I understood that you were writing a review of *At the Post of Honour*, which we sent you.

All the very best.

Yours

Sent from Munich to Geneva
First published in 1925

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 80-81

To P. B. Axelrod

(Extract)

July 26, 1901

Dear P. B.,

I have received and carefully read your letter (so has Alexei). I was very glad that you set out your remarks in such detail. Only you are wrong in thinking that I am too ("pretty") "stubborn". I have accepted *all* your suggestions about toning down definite passages (as well as all suggestions of G. V.), that is, I have toned it down everywhere. "A kopek on the ruble" will unite all the workers: I have added "in the opinion of the Economists" in brackets. Instead of "restriction of the autocracy" I have put "destruction", as you suggested. On pp. 82-83 I have *deleted* altogether what was incautious in the sense of our views on utilising the liberals (i.e., incautiously expressed ideas), as you advised. I have also inserted a note with a reference to your pamphlet *The Historical Situation*, pointing out that the question only slightly touched upon by me has been analysed in detail by you. I have inserted a couple of words to the effect that one can be glad of the greater understanding of the workers' movement shown by the liberals (in the person of R. N. S.). I have deleted altogether "regret" at the publication of the Witte memorandum with such a preface. I have also deleted some sharp remarks in the first and the second half of the article. In general, I am not at all so stubborn about toning down specific remarks, but as a matter of principle I cannot give up the idea that it is our right (and our duty) to trounce R. N. S. for his political juggling. He is precisely a political juggler—reading and re-reading the preface has definitely convinced me of this, and in my criticism I brought in everything that the last few months have shown us (i.e., *Verhandlungen** with "Calf"), attempts at an agreement, etc. I got a weight off my chest, so to speak, in settling accounts with this individual. I regarded elucidation of the constitutional nature of the Zemstvo as the crux of the whole article. Zemstvo liberalism is, in the sphere of its influence on society, the same thing as Economism in the sphere of the latter's influence on the workers. We must attack the narrowness of both the one and the other.

Tomorrow, probably, the question of the article will be *decided* here. If it goes to press now, I shall try to send you a copy of the first proof; you may have further suggestions, and we can still manage to touch it up (while the first and second proofs are being corrected).

Sent from Munich to Zurich
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 83-84

* Negotiations. — *Ed.*

To G. V. Plekhanov

(Extract)

July 30, 1901

I have sent my article against R. N. S. to the press after toning down a number of sharp passages.* I have also written a postscript to it, in which I draw a parallel between an article of Dragomanov's ("Knock, and it shall be opened unto you") and that of R. N. S., to the advantage of the former. There, too, I am toning down a few expressions (on Velika's insistence). But the general tone of my strictures can no longer be subject to radical revision.

Sent from Munich to the Canton
of Vaux (Switzerland)
First published in 1925

Collected Works, Vol. 34, p. 85

To P. B. Axelrod

August 24, 1901

Dear P. B.,

I enclose Nevzorov's article which he has rewritten. It has confronted us with this dilemma: either to publish it in *Zarya*, or to reject it altogether. The votes are divided equally (Alexei and Arsenyev, *for*; Velika Dmitrievna and I, *against*). Please cast your vote. I must say that I am particularly exasperated by the fact that everyone (even Arsenyev!) says the article is "vile", "treacherous" (as G. V. has also called it), but they keep talking of printing it! To my mind, this is the worst tactics of indulgence and connivance. They say in defence of the article: "It's a contributor's letter to the editorial board. It's *awkward* to reject it." In my opinion, once a contributor adopts that *kind* of attitude, we are in duty bound to put an end to it. Let him go to *Rabocheye Dyelo* and Godspeed (Nevzorov even wrote to ask us if we had any objections to it! Sic!)—that will help us to "document" his figure much better, and take him to pieces much more freely than in our *Zarya*. (One of the arguments *for* was that it should be printed to provide the occasion for replying to the widespread arguments.)

And so, it's up to you to decide the issue!

And how about Finn's article? If it's a good one (as you wrote), shouldn't we publish it in *Zarya*? Will you send it to us?

* "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism" — *Ed.*

How is your health? I heard that you were not far from Thun, but I hope the letter will be readdressed.

When do you expect to visit G. V.? We rely on you very much as regards the programme.

Well, so long. Hope you will be fit soon, and all the best.

Yours,
Petrov

Sent from Munich to Heiligenschwende
(near Thun, Switzerland)
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 94

To P. B. Axelrod

(Extract)

August 30, 1901

Dear P. B.,

I received your letter today, and today also sent off the proofs of my article to Dietz. I have made the change you suggested—at the end, separating the liberals from the revolutionaries who had been designated together as “we”. But as regards the “providential slip”, I could do nothing about it: alteration of this passage would have required much too extensive changes; besides, the spirit of the whole article makes it impossible to alter it in the sense of eliminating the “one-sidedness” (you are right, of course, that the presentation is “one-sided”: how could one observe a judicious balance in a polemical article devoted to an attack on one of the flanks of our opponents! What I mean is that it’s not that I don’t see the *defect* here but that it lies too deep to be eliminated by one particular alteration).

Sent from Munich to Heiligenschwende
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 96

To G. V. Plekhanov

December 1, 1901

I have read, dear G. V., your letter about Finn’s article. You have proved much stricter. It seemed to me that the article was not a bad one. But your arguments have fully convinced me, and I agree to the amputation. I have *already spoken*

to the author about the need for some changes and cuts. He did not resist absolutely, but expressed the "wish" that the cuts should not be too heavy, as otherwise, he said, he would find someone else to publish the article.

We shall try to write to the author: we have the address, but it's not very convenient to write.

However, I *will not undertake* to correct the article. That will have to be your job, if the decision is to carry it.

Best wishes,

Yours,

Frey

Your criticism of Finn's article has made me think again of how poor *Iskra's* economic section is, a fact you spoke of at Zurich. Why don't you send us anything for this section? It would be so important to have anything from notes of half a column (4,000 letters, 4-6 of your pages) about current events, like the co-operative congress, new data about syndicates, economic reviews in *The Economist*, major strikes, fresh statistical data, etc., etc., to articles of 1½-2 columns, or feature articles up to 20-25 thousand letters (up to 30 of your pages)! You seem to be more in touch with economic literature than anyone else, so it would be easiest for you to draw up such notes, even occasionally! Do try and help us, or *Iskra* will become monotonous. Of course I would not even dream of distracting you from your work on the programme, which is *urgently* needed and has first priority; but it would be possible to write small notes and little articles in between, about the new issues of economic journals, etc.

Iskra's historical section is also weak: feature articles telling about the European revolutions, and so forth. I think that here we could even translate. Please send us suitable material; you once said you had something in view.

Yours,

Frey

I am still unwell, and "struggling" with the pamphlet against *Rabocheye Dyelo*, which is advancing almost in crab-like fashion.

Sent from Munich to Geneva
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 102-103

To A. A. Bogdanov

Dear Comrades,

We are very glad about your proposal for the publication of pamphlets. There is, in fact, a certain lack of pamphlets, and we could easily publish them in any quantity. (As regards transport, we cannot at the moment *guarantee* regular delivery *en masse*, but we hope that this too will be constantly improving.) However we beg you not to insist on the stipulation that pamphlets should be accepted or rejected *en bloc*, without any partial changes at all. This stipulation is extremely inconvenient, and will hold up everything terribly. Take the very first article sent to us, about organisation (the technical problems of organisation). In the general opinion of the editorial board, this article (interesting and valuable though it is) *cannot appear in this shape*, because it contains quite inappropriate and tactless remarks (like "one-man rule" and "dictatorship by one member of the committee", etc.); and there are also minor defects requiring correction. Yet an agreement about such changes, not particularly essential from the author's standpoint (but unquestionably necessary), could be reached without any difficulty at all. Think this over well, and don't hold up an important undertaking out of a desire to impose particularly restrictive conditions on us.

We repeat that the article is, on the whole, practical and valuable; in general, we are even *prepared* to agree to the stipulation that articles should be accepted or rejected as a whole, without partial corrections. But, then, under this stipulation, we should be *obliged* to reject your very first article, and that would be harmful to the cause. After all, it would surely be possible to come to an agreement with the author about any *partial* corrections. Why don't you try and let us make these corrections by way of experiment? If you like we shall write to you in greater detail about what precisely should be changed.

Written between March 28
and April 19, 1902
Sent from London to Vologda
First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 110—111

To P. B. Axelrod

(Extract)

May 3, 1902

I should like to have a few words with you now about the article on the cut-off lands.* I corrected it, taking into account *all* the suggestions and demands of the high collegium. Now it is being sent to G. V. *to be forwarded on to you*: don't forget to ask him for it should he delay it (Dietz's printing-press is standing idle!). Berg is satisfied with my corrections, but he has informed me that the strongest objections to the article came from you. If it does not disturb your work too much—please write and tell me the cause of your dissatisfaction. I am very interested in this. (If you are writing an article, please don't drop it for my sake, as this conversation is not a "business" one, but largely *post festum*.)

I find it difficult, for instance, to understand your insertion "... the heavy oppression to which the peasantry is subjected..." (of the survivals of serfdom). Firstly, it is superfluous, as it adds nothing to the *thought*. Secondly, it is inaccurate (it is not only the peasantry that they heavily oppress; moreover their harmfulness does not lie only in the "oppression" of one or other social stratum).

Sent from London to Zurich
First published in 1925

Collected Works, Vol. 34, p. 99

To G. V. Plekhanov

(Extract)

July 2, 1902

Dear G. V.,

Excuse my writing in such a hurry. I have come here to Brittany for a rest (I am awaiting my family here as well), but in Paris Berg gave me his item, and I have received the article over the signature of Veteran which you sent.

I am completely in agreement with Veteran. On account of the note about Lekkert in *Iskra* I had a little battle with Berg and Velika Dmitrievna, who both, as usual, had an attack of nerves, and began to talk about the inevitability of terror, and the need for us to express this (in one way or another). The item in *Iskra* was thus a compromise: that was all I managed to *secure*.

* "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy"—*Ed.*

Now Berg himself has become more resolutely opposed to terror, even that of the Lekkerts.

But the question is whether it is all right to insert your article with the Veteran signature. *Of course, if you wish, it will certainly go in* (and there is time for it to go into the next issue)—but wouldn't it be better for you to turn it into a leading article for No. 22, combining it, so to speak, with Berg's article "How to Fight"? I enclose this article which, in my opinion, contains passages requiring corrections, passages which are undesirably evasive on the question of Lekkert.

I also enclose an item about the priest's letter. What is your opinion?

And so please reply as soon as possible, dear G. V., and send all three articles straight back to London (J. Richter, 30. Holford Sq. 30. Pentonville: London W. C.). Write to me at the same address.

Sent from Loguivy
(Northern France) to Geneva
First published in 1928
in the miscellany *Gruppa*
"Osvobozhdeniye Truda" No. 6

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 115

To G. V. Plekhanov

March 15, 1903

Dear G. V.,

I have received your letter. You are writing "The Ides of March", that is excellent. The *dead-line* is March 25, 1903—the article must be here. *We expect it without fail.*

Maslov's book is being sent to me in a few days from Paris (I shall ask them to make haste) and I shall send it on to you *at once*. It contains interesting data on the harm of the village commune, which I quoted in Paris.

I had already ordered David's book and am now reading it. Terribly watery, poor and trite. I am trying to finish it quickly so as to send it on to you. Have you seen Kautsky's articles on this "neo-Proudhonist"?

I have now set to work on a popular pamphlet for the peasants on our agrarian programme.* I should very much like to demonstrate our idea of the class struggle in the countryside on the basis of *concrete* data on the four sections of the village population (landowners, peasant bourgeoisie, middle peasantry, and semi-proletarians together with proletarians). What do you think of such a plan?

From Paris I came away with the conviction that only such a pamphlet could dispel the perplexities about the cut-off lands, etc.

* *To the Rural Poor*—Ed.

About the Manifesto of February 26 I have written an article which will appear in No. 34.* I have categorically insisted that it should be the leading article in view of the *tremendous* importance of the Manifesto. It seems, however, that V. I. is *wavering* (!) and together with Y. O. is deciding the other way round: first about Marx.

In my opinion, this is even preposterous.

All the very best.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from London to Geneva
First published in 1925

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 150–151

To A. A. Bogdanov

January 10, 1905

My dear friend,

At last we have launched *Vperyod*, and I would like to discuss it with you in greater detail. Issue No. 2 will appear the day after tomorrow. We intend to bring it out weekly. We have sufficient literary forces for the task. We are all in excellent spirits and at the top of our working form (with the slight exception of Vasily Vasilyevich, who has a touch of the blues). We are sure that things will go well, so long as we don't go bankrupt. We need 400 francs (150 rubles) per issue, but we have only 1.200 francs all in all. We shall need the deuce of a lot of help for the first few months; for, unless we can make it a regular publication, the entire position of the Majority will be dealt a terrific, well-nigh irreparable blow. Do not forget this and get whatever you can (*especially from Gorky*).

Next. It is particularly important now to let Rakhmetov know that he should push on as hard as he can with the arrangements for literary contributions from Russia. The success of a weekly depends largely upon the energetic collaboration of Russian writers and Social-Democrats. Write to Rakhmetov that he should mobilise *both Finn and Kollontai* for the purpose (we badly need articles *on Finland*), *as well as Rumyantsev and Andrei Sokolov*, the latter especially and particularly. I know by long experience that the people in Russia are devilishly, unpardonably, and incredibly slow at this sort of thing. It is therefore necessary to act, first of all, by personal example; secondly, not to rely on promises, but to see that you get the things written. Let Rakhmetov be sure to order the articles and the correspondence himself,

* "The Autocracy Is Wavering" — *Ed.*

and receive them himself, and send them off himself, keeping at it until he gets the material. (I would also add *Suvorov and Lunts*, but I am sure Rakhmetov knows many others besides.) We badly need: (1) articles on questions of Russian life, from 6,000 to 18,000 letters; (2) paragraphs on the same subjects, from 2,000 to 6,000 letters; (3) correspondence of diverse length about everything; (4) interesting passages and quotations from local Russian and special Russian publications; (5) paragraphs on articles in Russian newspapers and magazines. The last three points are quite within the range of contribution by working-class and especially the student youth, and therefore the thing should be given attention; this work should be popularised, people should be roused and filled with zeal; they should, by concrete example, be taught what is wanted and how necessary it is to utilise every trifle; they should be made to see how badly needed the *raw* material from Russia is abroad (we shall be able to work it up from a literary angle and make use of it ourselves), that it is foolish in the extreme to feel embarrassed about literary shortcomings, that they must learn to speak simply and correspond simply with the periodical abroad if they wish to make it their own journal. In view of this I would consider it simply necessary and positively essential to hand out a *Vperyod* address (a foreign address, of which we have many now and shall have more) to *every* student circle and to *every* workers' group. I assure you that there is an idiotic prejudice among our committee-men against handing our addresses on a broad scale to the periphery youth. Combat this prejudice with all your might, hand out the addresses, and demand *direct contact* with the Editorial Board of *Vperyod*. Unless this is done there will be no newspaper. Workers' correspondence is very badly needed, and there is so little of it. What we need is scores and hundreds of workers corresponding directly with *Vperyod*.

We must also get the workers to communicate their own addresses to which *Vperyod* may be mailed in closed envelopes. The workers will not be afraid. The police will not be able to intercept a tenth of the envelopes. The small (four-page) size and frequent appearance of *Vperyod* make the question of envelope delivery a most vital one for our newspaper. We should make it our direct objective to develop workers' subscriptions to *Vperyod*, to develop the habit of sending the money (a ruble isn't something God knows what!) and one's address abroad. If we tackle this properly, my word, we could revolutionise the distribution of underground literature in Russia. Don't forget that transportation, at best, takes four months. And that's with a weekly paper! As for the enveloped copies, probably from 50 to 75 per cent will be delivered at postal speed.

Now, as to the writers. They ought simply to be obligated to write regularly once a week or once a fortnight; otherwise—so, indeed, tell them—we cannot consider them decent people and will have nothing more to do with them. The usual excuse is: We don't know what theme to choose, we're afraid to waste our effort, we think "they already have this". It is against these trite and idiotic pretexts that Rakhmetov must wage a personal, a definitely personal,

fight. The principal themes are the domestic topics of Russia (of the kind that comprise in periodical literature reviews of the domestic political scene and reflections of social life), as well as articles and brief comments on material appearing in Russian special publications (statistical, military, medical, prison, ecclesiastical, and other periodicals). We are always in need of copy for these two sections. Only people living in Russia, and such people alone, can conduct these two sections well. *The keynote here is fresh facts, fresh impressions, special materials that are inaccessible to the people abroad, and not just arguments, not evaluations from the Social-Democratic point of view.* Therefore, such articles and comments will never go to waste, for we shall always make use of them. It is Rakhmetov's duty now to organise this thing at once and give us at least half a dozen good, useful contributors, who would not be lazy or try to shirk their jobs, but would each get in direct touch with the Editorial Board. Only by direct contact with contributors can we arrange all the details of the work. People should be enlisted by being made to realise that nowhere else can they "get into print" as quickly as in a weekly newspaper.

In conclusion, a word or two about the organisational slogan of today. After the article "Time to Call a Halt!" (*Vperyod*, No. 1), this slogan should be clear; but people are so inert that Rakhmetov, here again, will have to explain and explain again, and hammer it into their heads as hard as he can. The *split is now complete*; for we have exhausted all means. It is the *Third Congress* against the will of the Central Committee and the Council and *without them*. Complete rupture with the Central Committee. An open statement that we have our own Bureau. The complete removal of the Mensheviks and the new-Iskrists everywhere. We did everything we could to get on together, and should now declare openly and bluntly that we are obliged to work separately. All trustfulness and naiveté can only cause tremendous harm.

For Christ's sake hurry up and issue an open and emphatic statement on the Bureau. It is necessary: (1) to line up fully with "Time to Call a Halt!" and re-issue its appeal; (2) to declare that *Vperyod* is the organ of the majority of the committees and that the Bureau is working with it in complete and friendly agreement; (3) that the C.C. and the Council have deceived the Party in the most disgraceful way and sabotaged the Congress; (4) that there is no way out now other than the convening of a congress of the committees themselves *without* the C.C. and the Council; (5) that the Bureau undertakes to help the constructive work of the committees; (6) that Central Organ has utterly lost the membership's confidence by its vacillations and lies.

Believe me, we highly appreciate Zemlyachka, but she is wrong in her opposition to Papasha, and it is for you to correct her mistakes. Let us hurry up and break with the C.C. all along the line, and publish a statement about the Bureau at once to the effect that it is the Organising Committee and that it is convening the Third Congress.

First published in 1925 in the magazine
Proletarskaya Revolyutsia, No. 3 (38)

Collected Works, Vol. 8, pp. 43–46

To the Secretary of the Majority Committees' Bureau

January 29, 1905

Dear friend,

I have a great favour to ask you: please give Rakhmetov a scolding, yes, a good sound scolding. Really, he acts towards us like the *Osvobozhdeniye* people or priest Gapon towards the Social-Democrats. I have just been looking at the table of our correspondence with Russia. Gusev sent us six letters in ten days, but Rakhmetov two in thirty days. What do you think of that? Not a sign of him. Not a line for *Vperyod*. Not a word about the work, plans and connections. It's simply impossible, incredible, a disgrace. No. 4 of *Vperyod* will come out in a day or two, and immediately after it (a few days later) No. 5, but without any support from Rakhmetov. Today letters arrived from St. Petersburg dated January 10, very brief ones. And no one arranged for good and full letters about the Ninth of January!

I have had no reply whatever to my letter to Rakhmetov about literary contributions!

Neither is there anything about the Bureau and the congress. Yet it is so important to hurry up with the announcement concerning the Bureau and with the convening of the congress. For heaven's sake, don't trust the Mensheviks and the C.C., and go ahead everywhere and in the most vigorous manner with the split, a split and again a split. We here, carried away by enthusiasm for the revolution, were on the point of joining with the Mensheviks at a public meeting, but they cheated us again, and shamefully at that. We earnestly warn anyone who does not want to be made a fool of: a split, and an absolute split.

Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg
First published in 1925
in the magazine *Proletarskaya Revoliutsia*, No. 2

Collected Works, Vol. 34, p. 293

To A. V. Lunacharsky

Dear An. Vas.,

I have received your letter. You had better write to my private address: 3. Rue David Dufour.

I don't know what to do about Kostrov's pamphlet. I have not yet read it in the press, but from the old manuscript I know what kind of stuff it is. You are quite right about its being plain "Black-Hundred literature". You ask — how to reply?

Vas. Vas. has written a paragraph for *Proletary*—an uninteresting one, I don't feel like publishing it. Olin has delivered a lecture, he is writing, too, but I don't think he'll manage it. Two things are required here, in my opinion: firstly, "a brief outline of the history of the split". A popular one. Starting from the beginning, from Economism. Properly documented. Divided into periods: 1901—03; 1903 (Second Congress); August 26, 1903—November 26, 1903; November 26, 1903—January 1904; January—August 1904; August 1904—May 1905; May 1905 (Third Congress).

I think it could be written so clearly, exactly, and concisely that even those to whom Kostrov addresses himself would read it.

Secondly, we need a lively, sharp, *subtle* and detailed characterisation (literary-critical) of these Black Hundreds. As a matter of fact, this falsity is at the bottom of things both with L. M. (did you read the disgraceful stuff in No. 107? Schwarz is replying with an article. I don't know whether it is worth while?) and with Old Believer. A number of such articles and pamphlets should be collected, the gross lie should be shown up, *nailed down*, so that it would be impossible to wriggle out of it, and branded as definitely "Black-Hundred literature". The new-Iskrists have now provided plenty of material and if it is carefully gone over and these dirty methods of *tittle-tattle*, talebearing, etc. are exposed in all their beauty, a powerful effect could be produced. L. M.'s obscure "personal hints" alone—what undiluted filth it is!

I may perhaps tackle the first subject myself, but not just now, not soon; I have no time for it* (afterwards, I daresay, it will be too late!).

I would not tackle the second subject and I think that *only* you could do it. A nasty job, a stinking one, there's no denying it, but, after all, we are not fine gentlemen, but newspapermen, and it is impermissible for Social-Democratic publicists to allow "foulness and poison" to go unbranded.

Think this over and drop me a line.

A pamphlet on the mass political strike has to be produced—that should not be difficult for you.

You should certainly continue writing popular pamphlets as well, selecting something topical. What precisely, I do not know. Perhaps about the Bulygin Duma? It will be necessary to await the publication.

It would be good to write about workers' organisation. Compare our Rules (Third Congress) and the Conference Statute, analyse the two, explain the idea, importance and methods of *revolutionary* organisation of the proletariat (particularly for an uprising), the difference between Party organisations and

* I am now going to answer Plekhanov (*Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 2). He has to be pulled to pieces thoroughly, for he, too, has a heap of abominations and miserable arguments. I hope that I shall succeed.

Further, I am turning over in my mind a plan for a popular pamphlet: *The Working Class and Revolution* — a description of democratic and socialist tasks, and then conclusions about an uprising and a provisional revolutionary government, etc. I think such a pamphlet is essential.

those aligned with the Party, etc. In part, this would be an answer to Kostrov, a popular one, for the masses, on a burning topic of the day. Have a try!

All the very best,

Yours,

N. Lenin

Written between August 15 and 19, 1905

Sent from Geneva to Italy

First published in 1934

in *Lenin Miscellany XXVI*

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 328—329

To A. V. Lunacharsky

Dear An. Vas.,

Your plan for a pamphlet on *Three Revolutions* pleased me immensely. I'd drop the reply to Plekhanov for the time being if I were you—let that enraged doctrinaire bark away to his heart's content. To delve specially into philosophy at such a time! You must work as hard as you can for Social-Democracy—don't forget that you are committed *for your entire working time*.

As for the Three Revolutions, tackle this straight away. This subject has to be dealt with in a *thorough* manner. I am sure you could make a success of it. Describe, in a popular way, the tasks of socialism, its essence and the conditions for its realisation. Then—victory in the present revolution, the significance of the peasant movement (a separate chapter), what could *now* be regarded as complete victory; a provisional government, revolutionary army, uprising—the *significance and conditions* of new forms of struggle. Revolution *à la* 1789 and *à la* 1848. Finally (better to make this the second part and the preceding one—the third), about the bourgeois character of the revolution, more fully about the *economic* aspect, then thoroughly expose the *Osvobozhdeniye* people in all their *interests*, tactics and political intrigue.

This is a rich theme indeed, and a militant one, against the *Iskra* vulgarisers. Please tackle it at once and take your time over it. It is extremely important to produce a popular thing on this subject, something forceful and pointed.

Now about the split. You misunderstood me. It's no use your waiting for me, for these are different subjects: one is the history (we shall try to manage that); the other—an outline of their polemical methods. A literary-critical outline on the subject, let us say, of "cheap and shoddy literature". Here an analysis is to be given in a whole pamphlet of several chapters, with quotations, showing up all this disgusting claptrap of Old Believer, Martov and the rest in their polemic with *Proletary*, as well as the rehash of this theme in "Majority or Minority", etc. Pillory them for their *paltry method* of warfare. Make them into

a type. Draw a full-length portrait of them by quotations from their own writings! I am sure you'd pull it off, if only you collect a few quotations.

All the very best.

Yours, *Lenin*

P.S. I have received the article about Kuzmin-Karavayev. Also the 1848 feuilleton.

Written at the end of August 1905
Sent from Geneva to Italy
First published in 1934

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 334—335

To A. V. Lunacharsky

October 11

Dear An. Vas.,

Your article deals with a subject that is extremely interesting and very timely. Recently, in a leading article, *Leipziger Volkszeitung* ridiculed the Zemstvo members for their September Congress, for “playing at a Constitution”, for *already* posing as parliamentarians, etc., etc. The mistake of Parvus and Martov needs analysing from *this* aspect. But your article gives no analysis. I believe the article should be revised along one of two lines: either the weight of emphasis should be shifted to our new-Iskrists, who are “playing at parliamentarism”, and you should demonstrate in detail the relative, temporary importance of parliamentarism, the futility of “parliamentary illusions” in an era of revolutionary struggle, etc., by explaining the whole thing from the beginning (for Russians this is very useful!) and introducing a bit of Hilferding, just by way of illustration; or else you should take Hilferding as a basis—the article will then need less revision—give it a different heading, but describe more clearly Hilferding’s method of presenting the question. Of course, you may find another plan of revision, but please set to work on it at once, without fail. You have time for it, since the article could not go into this issue (the Moscow events + the old material have taken up all the space). So, the deadline is Tuesday, October 17. Please make it a comprehensive article and send it by October 17. It would be better to revise it along the first lines, it may then turn out to be an editorial!

If we already had a parliament, we would certainly support the Cadets, Milyukov and Co. contra *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*. For example, when balloting, etc. Such action there would not in the slightest degree violate the independence of the class party of Social-Democracy. But in an era not of parliament, but of revolution (you make the distinction in the very heading), support for people

who are incapable of fighting in a revolutionary way is 1) violation of the independence of our Party. The deal cannot be clear and above-board. It is precisely the "sale" of our right to revolution, as you say, and not the *use* of our right for the purpose of support. In a parliament we give support without in any way disappearing. Now we are disappearing by *obliging* the Milyukovs to speak *for us* on definite terms. Further, what is most important 2) such support is betrayal of the revolution. There is no parliament as yet, it is only an *illusion* of the Milyukovs. We must fight in a revolutionary way *for* a parliament, but not in a parliamentary way *for* a revolution; we must fight in a revolutionary way *for* a *strong* parliament, and not in an *impotent* "parliament" for a revolution. In Russia now, *without* the victory of the revolution, *all* victories in "parliament" (the Duma or the like) are *nothing*, worse than nothing, for they blind the eyes by a *fiction*. Parvus has not understood this.

The Cadets have already become *regierungsfähig** (the Trubetskoys and Manuilovs in the role of rectors, etc.), they have already climbed to the second storey of freedom of assembly (at the price of debasing assemblies), the storey of quasi-parliamentarism. All they need is that the proletariat, while remaining *actually in the basement*, should imagine itself on the second storey, should fancy itself a parliamentary force and agree to "conditions" about "support" and so on. That is a rich theme! We now are strong owing to the revolutionary struggle of the people and weak in a quasi-parliamentary respect. *With the Cadets it is just the reverse*. They calculate on dragging us into quasi-parliamentarism. *Iskra* has allowed itself to be fooled. It is on this point that a *detailed* analysis of the relation of "'parliamentarism' to revolution" would be appropriate (cf. Marx on the class struggles in France in 1848).

These ideas outlined by you (I am stating them of course, in a very general and inexact way) must be amplified, mulled over, and served up. People in Russia are now badly in need of having the relation between parliamentarism and revolution explained to them from the very beginning. But Martov and Co. go into hysterics and scream: if only we would become legal! If only we would act openly! It doesn't matter how, so long as it's legal! It is now of all times that we need steadfastness, the continuation of the revolution, struggle against a wretched semi-legality. *Iskra* has failed to understand this. Like all opportunists, they do not believe in the energy and stubbornness of the workers' revolutionary struggle. Moscow is a lesson to them. And here we have that vulgarian Parvus applying to Russia the tactics of petty deals!

Did you receive my letter? All the very best to you and to An. Al.

Yours,

Lenin

Written October 11, 1905
Sent from Geneva to Florence
First published in 1931

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 352—354

* Fit to govern.—*Ed.*

To Maxim Gorky

February 7, 1908

Dear A. M.,

I shall consult A. A. about your statement; since you did not know him personally I think it is not worth while publishing it.

To what Bolshevik symposium have you sent the article on cynicism? I am puzzled, because people write to me a good deal about Bolshevik symposia, but I have never heard of this one. I hope it is to the St. Petersburg one. Send me a copy of your letter to Sienkiewicz, if you have one (indicating *when* it was sent)—but Sienkiewicz will no doubt publish it since it is an opinion poll.

Your plans are very interesting and I should like to come. But, you will agree, I cannot very well throw up the Party job, which needs organising immediately. It is difficult to get a new job going. I can't throw it up. We shall have it going in about a couple of months or so, and then I shall be free to tear myself away for a week or two.

I agree with you a thousand times about the need for *systematically* combating political decadence, renegadism, whining, and so forth. I do not think that there would be any disagreement between us about "society" and the "youth". The significance of the intellectuals in our Party is declining; news comes from all sides that the intelligentsia is *fleeing* the Party. And a good riddance to these scoundrels. The Party is purging itself from petty-bourgeois dross. The workers are having a bigger say in things. The role of the worker-professionals is increasing. All this is wonderful, and I am sure that your "kicks" must be understood in the same sense.

Now—how are we to exert influence, what exactly should our literature be? Symposia or *Proletary*? Of course, the easier thing is to reply: not *or*, but *and*—the reply will be irreproachable but of little practical value. We must have legal symposia, of course; our comrades in St. Petersburg are working on them by the sweat of the brow, and I, too, have been working on them after London, while sitting in Kwakalla. If possible, *all* efforts should be made to support them and continue these symposia.

But my experience from London up to November 1907 (half a year!) has convinced me that no *systematic* legal literature can now be produced. I am convinced that what the *Party* now needs is a regular political organ, consistently and vigorously pursuing a policy of struggle against disintegration and despondency—a *Party* organ, a political newspaper. Many people in Russia do not believe in a foreign-based organ. But this is an error, and our collegium knew what it was doing when it decided to transfer *Proletary* here. That it is difficult to organise, set it up and run it—goes without saying. But it *has* to be done and it will be done.

Why shouldn't literary criticism be included in it? Too little space? I don't know, of course, your system of working. Unfortunately, when we have met, we spent more time chattering than talking business. If you don't like writing small, short, periodical (weekly or fortnightly) articles, if you prefer to work on *big* things—then, of course, I would not advise you to interrupt it. It will be of greater benefit!

If, however, you are inclined towards joint work in a political newspaper—why not continue and make a regular feature of the genre which you began with "Notes on Philistinism" in *Novaya Zhizn*, and began very well, in my opinion? I wrote to you about this "with an ulterior motive" in one of the first letters, thinking: if it appeals to him, he will seize on the idea. And it seems to me that in your last letter you are seizing on it after a fashion. Or am I mistaken? How great would be the gain, both for Party work through the newspaper, which would not be so one-sided as it previously was, and for literary work, which would be more closely linked with Party work, with systematic, continuous influence on the Party! There should be not "forays", but a solid onslaught all along the line, without stops or gaps; Bolshevik Social-Democrats should not only attack all kinds of duffers piecemeal, but should conquer all and everything as the Japanese conquered Manchuria from the Russians.

Of the three subjects that you mention for the symposia (philosophy, literary criticism, and current tactics) one-and-a-half would go into the political newspaper, into *Proletary*, viz.: current tactics and a good half of the literary criticism. Ah, there is nothing good about all those special, long articles of literary criticism scattered through various semi-Party and non-Party periodicals! We should try to take a step away from this old, intellectualist, stuffed-shirt manner, that is, we should link literary criticism, too, *more closely* with Party work, with Party leadership. That is what the adult Social-Democratic Parties in Europe are doing. That is what we should do, too, without being afraid of the difficulties of the first steps of collective newspaper activity in this field.

Large works of literary criticism—in books, partially in periodicals.

Systematic, periodic articles, in the concert of a political newspaper, linked with Party work, in the spirit of what was begun by *Novaya Zhizn*—tell me, have you any inclination towards this, or not?

The third subject is philosophy. I am fully aware of my unpreparedness in this sphere, which prevents me from speaking about it in public. But, as a rank-and-file Marxist, I read attentively our Party philosophers, I read attentively the empirio-monist Bogdanov and the empirio-critics Bazarov, Lunacharsky, etc.—and *they* drive me to give *all* my sympathy to *Plekhanov*! It takes physical strength to keep oneself from being carried away by the mood, as Plekhanov does! His tactics are the height of ineptitude and baseness. In philosophy, however, he upholds the right cause. I am for materialism against "empirio—" etc.

Can, and should, philosophy be linked with the trend of Party work?

With Bolshevism? I think this should not be done at the present time. Let our Party philosophers put in some more work on theory for a while, let them dispute and . . . *seek a meeting of minds*. For the time being, I would stand for *such* philosophical disputes as those between materialists and "empirios" being separated from integral Party work.

I look forward to your reply, meanwhile I must conclude.

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Geneva to the Isle
of Capri (Italy)
First published in 1934

Collected Works, Vol. 34, pp. 379—382

To Maxim Gorky

How is it there is no news from you, dear A. M.? You wrote that you had long finished your big work and were going to help us in *Proletary*. But when? What about your doing a small article on Tolstoy or something of that sort? Send us a line whether you intend to do so.

Al. Al. is on his way to you. I can neither abandon the paper nor get away from my work. But this is only a delay, I shall come all the same.

What do you think of *Proletary*? It is an uncared-for waif. Never before have I so neglected my paper: I spend whole days reading the accursed Machists and dash off articles for the newspaper in incredible haste.

Well, all the best.

Yours,

Lenin

To M. F. thousand greetings! I shall bicycle down to see her!

Get Anat. Vas. to write for *Proletary* too! Let me do some philosophic barking by helping *Proletary* in the meantime!

Written in the first half of April 1908
Sent from Geneva to the Isle
of Capri (Italy)
First published in 1924

Collected Works, Vol. 34, p. 391

To A. V. Lunacharsky

(Extract)

To Anat. Vas.

April 16, 1908

Dear A. V.,

I have received your letter. I am *very* glad that you are undertaking work for *Proletary*. This is absolutely *necessary, particularly* in regard to the subjects you mention + Italian letters. Mind you don't forget that you are a contributor to a Party newspaper and don't let those round you forget it.

All the very best.

Yours,

Lenin

Sent from Geneva to the Isle
of Capri (Italy)
First published in 1934

Collected Works, Vol. 34, p. 392

To G. V. Zinoviev

Dear Gr.,

I have received No. 7-8 of *Sotsial-Democrat*. I object to Trotsky's *signature*; signatures must be omitted. (I have not yet read the articles.)

As regards *Proletary*, I think we should insert in it 1) an article on the elections in St. Petersburg (in connection with the claptrap of *Rech* and Vodovozov, if *Rech* has not misreported him); 2) on the Swedish strike—a summing-up article is essential; 3) ditto on the Spanish events; 4) on the Mensheviks, in connection with their (very vile) polemic with the Geneva (Georgien) anti-liquidator; 5) in the supplement as a special sheet, an answer to the "Open Letter" of Maximov and Co. A proper answer must be given to them so that these scoundrels do not mislead people by their lies.

After three weeks' holiday, I am beginning to come round. I think I could take No. 4 and 5, upon myself, if need be No. 1 as well, but I am still afraid to promise. Write me your opinion and the exact *deadlines*. What else is there for *Proletary*?

No. 2 and 3 can be made up from *Vorwärts*; I shall send it to you, if you will undertake to write.

As regards *Pravda*, have you read Trotsky's letter to Inok? If you have, I hope it has convinced you that Trotsky behaves like a despicable careerist and factionalist of the Ryazanov-and-Co. *tape*? Either equality on the editorial board, *subordination* to the C.C. and no one's transfer to Paris except Trotsky's (the scoundrel, he wants to "fix up" the *whole* rascally crew of *Pravda* at our expense!)—or a break with this swindler and an exposure of him in the C.O. He pays lip-service to the Party and behaves worse than any other of the factionalists.

All the best.

N. Lenin

P.S. I'm afraid we'll have to give Kamenev up as a bad job. An article on *The Social Movement* has been promised six weeks (or six months) ago?

My address is: Mr. Wl. Oulianoff (Chez Madame Lecreux), Bombon (Seine-et-Marne).

Written August 24, 1909
Sent from Bombon (France) to Paris
First published in 1933

Collected Works, Vol. 34, p. 399

To A. I. Lyubimov

(Extract)

Dear Mark,

I entirely agree, of course, to your making free use of my letter for a report or for publication.* Bear in mind, though, that I am writing an article** for *Proletary* in which I bluntly describe the gang of scoundrels, Maximov and Co., as *canaille*, and call their school nothing but "Yerogin's hostel". And so, to avoid misunderstanding: I agree to speak "mildly" only to workers who address me *personally* over their own signatures.

Maximov and Co., however, are a band of adventurers who have enticed some workers into their Yerogin hostel. To avoid contradictions, *do not circulate* my letter among our people, but *send it exclusively* to organisations with this reservation (the reservation had better be published too):

"The appropriate reply to the company of offended writers, unrecognised

* The reference is to a letter to students at the Capri Party School.—Ed.

** If I manage to finish it, I shall send it to you tomorrow express—perhaps it will be in time for the report.

philosophers and ridiculed god-builders who have hidden away their so-called "school" from the Party, will be given in *Proletary*. The present letter, however, is Lenin's personal reply to those workers who have addressed him personally."

Written at the beginning
of September 1909
Sent from Bombon (France) to Paris
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Collected Works, Vol. 34, p. 401

To Maxim Gorky

(Extract)

We've had some bad luck with *Mysl*. You probably know what has happened from *Rech* and other papers. We have to transfer the whole business to St. Petersburg, and begin all over again. But we have no legal and reliable people.

Could you help us, if you sympathise with *Mysl*? Or perhaps Pyatnitsky could help? As things are, we still have enough money to publish such a small journal (provided, of course, that we all work for nothing and pay outsiders 20 rubles a sheet! Not so generous, you see). So *at present* it is only *technical* help that is needed: to find a publisher who, *without spending a kopek of his own*, would bring out the journal (and we so strongly recognise the *strictest* legality, that we give the right both to the publisher and to the secretary of the editorial board + a lawyer to *hold up* anything in the least dangerous; we brought out four issues without the slightest fault finding from the court. No. 5 was confiscated on account of Kautsky! That was obviously a mere pretext. There was nothing illegal in Kautsky).

Why should not Pyatnitsky or someone else help us in such a safe business? If it is impossible to find a publisher, what about a *secretary*, a *legal* person whom we would pay 50 rubles a month for worrying about the printing press and forwarding. All we want is an honest and thoughtful person. The trouble is that we have *no* legal people, except workmen (and they won't do).

Written at the end of April 1911
Sent from Paris to Capri
First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 178

To Maxim Gorky

(Extract)

September 15, 1911

So far we have been able only to collect our last cash for reviving *Zvezda*. I very much count on your help: send us an article. Help is particularly important at the beginning, because it won't be easy to resume an interrupted publication . . .

Well, all the best. Do write for *Zvezda*.

Sent from Paris to Capri
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 185

To Maxim Gorky

Dear A. M.,

We shall shortly send you the resolutions of the Conference. We have finally succeeded—in spite of the liquidationist scoundrels—in reviving the Party and its Central Committee. I hope you will be as glad of this as we are.

Won't you write a May Day leaflet for us? Or a little leaflet in a similar May Day spirit? Quite a short one, a "heart-warmer", what do you say? Think of old times, remember 1905, and put down a couple of words, if you have the mind to write. There are two or three illegal printing-presses in Russia, and the Central Committee will republish it, probably, in several tens of thousands of copies. It would be a good thing to get a *revolutionary* manifesto like the *Tales* in *Zvezda*. I am very, very glad that you are helping *Zvezda*. We are having a devilish hard job with it—internal and external and financial difficulties are immense—but still we are managing so far.

All the best,

Lenin

P.S. And *Sovremennik* has had the sense to die, after all! That was a good deed on its part.

Written in February 1912
Sent from Paris to Capri (Italy)
First published in 1925
in *Lenin Miscellany III*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 23

To Maxim Gorky

Dear A. M.,

I am very glad you have agreed to try and write a May Day leaflet.

I enclose the Conference resolutions.

I have seen *Zhivoye Dyelo*. A rotten little liquidationist rag with an "approach". Liberal propaganda. They are glad that the police prevent the question of the Party being openly discussed.

Zvezda will continue, either as a weekly or as a *kopek daily*. You helped *Zvezda* very, very much with your splendid *Tales*, and that made me extremely joyful, so that the joy—if I am to talk straight—outweighed my sadness at your "affair" with the Chernovs and Amfiteatrovs . . . Brr! I am glad, I must confess, that they are "going up the spout".

But as for your having nothing to live on and not being able to get printed anywhere, that's bad. You ought to have got rid of that leech Pyatnitsky long ago and appointed an honest agent, an agent pure and simple, to deal with Znaniye (perhaps it's already too late, I don't know)!!! If only . . . It would have been a gold mine . . .

I see Rozhkov's *Irkutskoye Slovo* very rarely. The man's become a liquidator. And Chuzhak is an old ass, hardened and pretentious.

Yours,
Lenin

Thank M. F. for her letter to Moscow, and a thousand greetings!

Written in February-March 1912

Sent from Paris to Capri

First published

in *Bakinsky Rabochy* No. 17,

January 21, 1927

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 24

Put Your Cards on the Table

(Extract)

(1) Please send immediately books on the electoral law of June 3, 1907, or another copy of the handbook of 1910. Also the electoral *law* with the comments of a *lawyer*. Consult "your people" and send them promptly. Unless I get them I cannot work on the voter's handbook. (2) I am again receiving *Zvezda* irregularly. Speak about it again in your dispatch department. Give my (old)

address. It mustn't be sent so irregularly. (3) The article "Fundamentals of a Platform" *does not* require the approval of the Editorial Board; publish it with the signature and with the subheading "An Essay in Comment"; the Board must *not* approve *any* platform; remember, one clumsy step and a squabble is unavoidable. Let the Board refrain and keep silent. The approval of the platform is the job of quite another body. (4) Send me newspapers, journals, books. It is impossible to work without them. (5) Write and tell me exactly when a daily newspaper is likely to come out, its size, etc. (6) Fight against *Zhivoye Dyelo* more energetically—then victory is guaranteed. Otherwise things will be bad. Don't be afraid of polemics. Two or three polemical articles a week are imperative.

Written on March 12 or 13
(25 or 26), 1912
Sent from Paris to St. Petersburg
First published 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Collected Works, Vol. 17, p. 520

To the Editor of *Zvezda*

Dear Colleague,

I am sending new material today for the *Voter's Handbook*. This is nearly all, there will be another article or two from here in two days' time, and then you will get an article on the budget from Tver.

(1) I very much advise you also to reprint from *Zvezda* No. 34 (December 17, 1911) the article by Frey: "The Role of Worker Electors in the Election Campaign" (it would also be a good thing to reprint his article in No. 36, December 31, 1911, about the role of peasant electors, as well). Don't go out of your way to cut them down. It is better to publish in full a substantial article which will be of value in giving intelligible guidance for the elections. Don't go out of your way for cheapness and brevity—better publish something solid.

If, after all, it is absolutely impossible to publish all the articles, be certain to return those you don't.

(2) Here it is most essential to make arrangements for regular correspondence. Let your secretary write to me direct here, and not through Arcachon, to avoid any delay. Give us a better address for letters to you.

(3) You are wrong not to reply to the liquidators. This is a great mistake. You can and should reply, without saying a word about the Conference. You should print a brief reply to every lie of *Zhivoye Dyelo*: *Zhivoye Dyelo* in such-and-such a number is lying, as all the liquidators do. It is essential to reply, otherwise you lose.

(4) If Plekhanov writes, you should send his articles here in proofs. Otherwise it becomes a "privilege" for him, which we cannot tolerate. Be careful. You will force us to leave if Plekhanov is given the privilege of writing against the Conference when we cannot write in favour of it. It would be a mean trick to allow him to abuse it when we cannot praise it.

(5) Be sure to send us in a separate packet, wrapped up in *Novoye Vremya*, these numbers of *Zvezda*: Nos. 24 and 25 of the summer of 1911, No. 18 (54), No. 19 (55), No. 22 (58), No. 23 (59)—we haven't got them—and *Zhivoye Dyelo* No. 11 and No. 12. Please send us confiscated issues separately, wrapping them up in newspapers of the Right.

(6) Let us know as soon as possible about the daily paper. What will be the size? What length of article can be sent?

(7) Try and buy as cheaply as possible the Verbatim Reports of the Third Duma, especially the sessions of 1911-12. Write.

Written on April 22, 1912
Sent from Paris to St. Petersburg
First published in 1923
in the book *Iz epokhi "Zvezdy"*
i "Pravdy" (1911-14), Part III

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 36-37

To B. N. Knipovich

(Extract)

June 6, 1912

I read your book* with great pleasure, and was very glad to see that you had taken up a serious and large-scale work. This work will certainly enable you to test, deepen and consolidate your Marxist convictions.

I will note some ideas which came into my mind when reading it. It seemed to me that here and there, when studying the results of "differentiation", departures from the countryside are overlooked. I will make clear what I mean by this example, (a) first aspect: out of 100 households 25 have no horse=25 per cent, or have no sowings; (b) second aspect: of 150 households 36 have no sowings=24 per cent. Diminished differentiation, it would seem? But if 30 households or families have left the village for the town, or migrated, etc., then *in fact* proletarianisation has increased. I think this is a typical example. The statistics always consider the households in existence, remaining "narrowly statistical" and omitting what is sometimes most important.

* Reference is to B. N. Knipovich's book *K voprosu o differentsiatsii russkogo krestyanstva. Differentsiatsia v sfere zemledelcheskogo khozyaistva* (*A Contribution to the Problem of Differentiation of the Russian Peasantry. Differentiation in the Sphere of Farming*), St. Petersburg, 1912.—Ed.

Then, the author definitely and more than once confines the subject of his research to the *tillage* aspect. But in his conclusions he imperceptibly extends the theme, speaking to the whole of *agriculture* and sometimes even of the whole economy. This leads to error, because some aspects of "differentiation", i.e., of the proletarianisation of the peasants and the genesis of capital, are, as a consequence, *lost* (for example, commercial stock-breeding in Yaroslavl Gubernia and other forms of penetration of exchange into agriculture, as it becomes specialised).

Furthermore. Do not the rows of figures sometimes obscure the *types*, socio-economic *types* of farmers (substantial bourgeois farmer; middle farmer; semi-proletarian; proletarian)? This danger is *very* great because of the *qualities* of statistical material. The "rows of figures" carry one away. I would advise the author to take this danger into account: our "socialists of the chair" unquestionably in this way *throttle* the living Marxist content of data. They drown the class struggle in rows and rows of figures. This does *not* occur with the author, but in the big work he has undertaken he ought particularly to take account of this danger, this "line" of the socialists of the chair, the liberals and the Narodniks. He should take it into account and *trim it down*, of course.

Lastly, Maslov has appeared as something like a *deus ex machina*. *Cur? Quomodo? Quibus auxiliis?** After all, his theory is very remote from Marxism. The Narodniks rightly called him a "critic" (=opportunist). Perhaps the author took him on trust more by chance?

Written in Paris
First published in 1928
in the magazine *Bolshevik* No. 7

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 38—39

To the Editor of *Pravda*

Dear Colleague,

I send you one more article by I. Gylka. The author reminds you that he is *expecting an advance*.

It is urgently necessary to reply to him immediately (you can do it through me, but *without fail* on a *separate* sheet). The author lives in Lemberg, makes a special *study* of his subject, and such a contributor should be drawn in. Once again I advise you to pay him an advance, *and in any case* to reply to him *at once*.

N.B. If Gylka's articles are not accepted, return them at once without fail! We have received the parcel, and cannot help complaining.

Of the books, only *one*! Write and say why. Did other members of the

* Why? How? By what means? — *Ed.*

staff take the rest of the books received? Have they taken them for long, or for good? If so, you ought to arrange to send them to us *for a time*. We repeat that without books we *cannot* work.

The office should be more careful about this.

We received the *Voter's Handbook* two and a half weeks after publication! Yet to send it *at once* would have cost 5 *kopeks* . . .

There has been a delay with the papers, after all. We are stuck here without newspapers, and we shall be without them for another two or three days.

I would very much advise you to send a reporter to the City Council, find out *how many* applications* they are getting from tenants and set about publishing this *systematically* (encouraging successful districts and appealing to the unsuccessful). Very little time is left, and the paper should make itself responsible for the *whole* business.

You should get from the City Council, through any statisticians among your acquaintances (or officially from the editors and the members of the State Duma), *all* the statistical material (if they don't exist, then buy *Rech* for those years and months, or some other paper) about the elections to the *First, Second* and *Third State Duma*+Petersburg statistics (housing, population, etc.). With such material in your hands, and with an intelligent reporter visiting the City Council daily or 2-3 times a week, you can run a *good* section in the paper about the course of the elections.

Do you send *Pravda* to the *Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung* in Vienna? Send it, and *send it to us as well by wrapper*.

I advise you to reply to Trotsky through the post: "To Trotsky (Vienna). We shall not reply to disruptive and slanderous letters." Trotsky's dirty campaign against *Pravda* is one mass of lies and slander. The well-known Marxist and follower of Plekhanov, Rothstein (London), has written to us that he received Trotsky's slanders and replied to him: I cannot complain of the Petersburg *Pravda* in any way. But this intriguer and liquidator goes on lying, right and left.

Yours faithfully,

V. Ulyanov

P.S. It would be still better to reply in this way to Trotsky through the post: "To Trotsky (Vienna). You are wasting your time sending us disruptive and slanderous letters. They will not be replied to."

Written on July 19, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 40-41

* From what districts? streets? etc., as detailed as possible.

To the Editor of *Pravda*

(Extract)

All that I can do at present to meet your request, I am doing. I am sending you an article "On the Election Platform". You will see clearly, I hope, what my views are from this article.

As regards altering it, I must lay down *special* conditions (usually I don't make any, as you know, relying entirely on a comradely, collective and not pettifogging attitude). But on this occasion these special conditions are essential for me, because the question is one of vast importance, a radical question of principle.

I can agree *only* to (1) eliminaiing the subhead and (2) minimum corrections for the *censorship* (only!!) in three or four places, correction of *individual* words, and *nothing more at all*. If *even then* you can't print it either in *Pravda* or in *Neuskaya Zvezda*, return the article, I need it. To eliminating mention of the liquidators I *cannot* agree.

The essence of the whole question is that the liquidators are setting a trap: "let's have an open platform" (while privately the liquidator thinks: I will sign *anything* in an open platform). And that is true, the liquidator will sign *anything* in an open platform!! And it will be not a platform, not a serious affair, but philistine chatter, a list of "reforms", a competition with the liberals on *their* own ground, because every liberal (up to and including Trubetskoy) will at present, six or eight weeks before the elections, put his name to *anything!!* The liberals and the liquidators will sign anything, if only they can get elected to the Fourth Duma.

One must grasp the essence of the question, the principle involved, and not be afraid of somewhat "unusual", "unsuitable" (for *Pravda*) expressions, polemics, etc. The workers in their mass will understand very well the *spirit* of the thing ("no cutting up")—and that is the whole point. *All* will understand why inventing open platforms in Third-of-June Russia, six or eight weeks before the elections, is ridiculous, stupid, philistine, even scoundrelly. And that is the essence.

Such an article printed as a feature in *Pravda*, even in small type, will at once take up a position, and kill the adventurism of the inventors of open platforms. It will kill the demagogy of their "say openly what you believe in". Used not Katkov in just the same way to ask: "Say openly that you recognise the autocracy"?

Much has devolved on *Pravda* in the electons, and much will be required of it. It would be a scandal if *Pravda* were ridiculed *from the left* for drawing up open platforms. *Pravda* has *in practice* the position of leader. That position must be defended honourably. It should say clearly, calmly and firmly: against

the liquidators. And at once the whole gang of these petty liberals will be killed. Let them put forward their *own* list: they won't dare, because they will be completely disgraced!! I await a *speedy* reply.

With greetings,

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

Written earlier than August 1, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
Published for the first time
in the Fourth (Russian) Edition
of *Collected Works*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 47

To the Editor of *Pravda*

(Extract)

Furthermore, I should like to discuss the two workers' papers at St. Petersburg. *Luch* is base and unprincipled: it's not a paper, but a "leaflet for subverting" the Social-Democratic candidate. But they know how to fight, they are lively and glib. Meanwhile *Pravda* is carrying on now, at election time, like a sleepy old maid. *Pravda* doesn't know how to fight. It does not attack, it does not persecute either the Cadet or the liquidator. But can an organ of forward-looking democrats *not* be a fighting organ at a hot time like this? Let's give it the benefit of the doubt: let's assume that *Pravda* is sure that the anti-liquidators will win. *All the same* it should fight to let the *country* know what is involved, *who* is disrupting the election campaign, and *what ideas* are at stake in the struggle. *Luch* is fighting furiously, hysterically, abandoning its principles in the most shameless fashion. *Pravda*—to spite it—puts on a "serious mien", affects various airs and graces, and fails to fight at all! Does that look like Marxism? After all, didn't Marx know how to combine war, the most passionate, whole-hearted and merciless war, with complete loyalty to principle?

Not to fight at election time is suicide. Look at what *Luch's* "Cadet-eating" has come to! And the *Pravda* people were afraid that we might be overdoing the Cadet-eating!

Best wishes,

Yours,

F. Ilyin

Written after October 3, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 198

To the Editor of *Pravda*

Dear Colleague,

I have your letter, and the letter from Vitimsky. I was very glad to get a word from him. But the contents of his letter gave me great concern.

You write, and as secretary,* evidently, on behalf of the editorial board, that "the editorial board in principle considers my article fully acceptable *including the attitude to the liquidators*". If that is so, why then does *Pravda* stubbornly and systematically cut out any mention of the liquidators, both in my articles and in the articles of other colleagues?? Don't you really know that they already *have* their candidates? We know this *for certain*. We have had official communications about this from a city in the south,** where there is a deputy from the worker curia. Undoubtedly the same applies to other places.

The silence of *Pravda* is more than strange. You write: "The editorial board considers it an *obvious* misunderstanding" that it is being "suspected of striving to legalise the demands contained in the platform". But surely you will agree that this is a fundamental question, one which determines the whole spirit of the publication, and moreover one which is inseparably bound up with the question of the liquidators. I have not the slightest inclination for "suspecting"; you know *from experience* that I show tremendous patience with your corrections for reasons of censorship as well. But a fundamental question requires a *straight answer*. One must not leave a contributor uninformed as to whether the editorial board intends to direct the section of the paper dealing with the elections *against* the liquidators, naming them clearly and precisely, or *not against* them. There is not and cannot be any middle course.

If the article "must be printed anyway" (as the secretary to the editorial board writes), then how am I to understand Vitimsky's "the angry tone is harmful"? Since when has an *angry* tone against what is bad, harmful, untrue (and the editorial board is "in principle" in agreement!) harmed a daily newspaper?? On the contrary, colleagues, really and truly on the contrary. To write without "anger" of what is harmful means to write boringly. And you yourselves refer, and justly so, to monotony!

Furthermore, I have not had any reply for a long time concerning the article about November 9 (the reply of a correspondent). I repeat my request: return what cannot pass the censorship or what you unquestionably reject.

We receive *Pravda* *irregularly* (yesterday we *didn't* get it *at all!!*). We have not seen *Zvezda*, either No. 14 or No. 17, *at all*. A scandal! Can't you send us the *page proofs* by wrapper, rather than throw them away? That costs two

* Reference is to V. M. Molotov.—Ed.

** The city referred to is Kharkov.—Ed.

kopeks. It would save time. To send proofs to a contributor is perfectly legitimate. When leaving at night, the night editor would put the wrapper into a post-box—that would be all. (But the wrappers often tear, they should be made larger, the same size as the newspapers. It would be best of all to use long narrow envelopes: in such envelopes—*unsealed*—press material is more likely to arrive, and the envelopes don't cost much.) It is particularly essential to have *Zvezda* No. 17. Today is Thursday: *two days'* delay!!

Finally, please let me know whether it would not be possible to publish in one form or another (like *Nevsky Golos*, which has more than once printed information about the Social-Democrats abroad) the following news. The German *Vorstand** has made an appeal to the 11 (*sic!*) Social-Democratic groups, factions and centres, suggesting a joint conference on the subject of "unity". The so-called "Lenin trend" has replied with the most categorical refusal: what can be more ridiculous and unworthy than this playing at an agreement abroad with "centres and factions" which have demonstrated their absolute impotence in Russia? No negotiations with them, no agreements with the liquidators—such was the reply of the so-called "Lenin trend". Whether anything has come of this arch-stupid idea of Trotsky's, and whether anything will come of it, is not known.

And so I ask you to reply: can a report describing these "Paris novelties", and giving an assessment of them, be published, in one form or another, in the newspaper you edit? Do censorship conditions make this possible, or is it quite impossible? (I ask only about the censorship aspect of the case, since in principle—I venture to think on the basis of the previous letter—the editorial board is *not* in favour of unity with the liquidators, isn't that so?)

With comradely greetings,

V. Ulyanov

Written on August 1, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1930
in the second and third editions
of Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 47

* Party Executive.—Ed.

To the Editor of *Pravda*

Dear Colleague,

Kamenev writes to us today that you have informed him that peaceful relations have once again been restored between Plekhanov and yourselves by the elimination of "misunderstandings".

I would very much ask you to let me know the meaning of this dream. We had every reason to believe that the rejection of the articles by Dnevniysky and Plekhanov regarding a concession to the liquidators (for it was *precisely* about this that they were writing, under the screen of "unity") took place quite deliberately and resolutely. So what "misunderstandings" could there be in this case?

Are there not new misunderstandings in this latest communication?

The last, or more precisely yesterday's, editorial in *Rech* (July 19) is of tremendous importance. It cannot be doubted that the Cadets have done everything in their power (and beyond it) to "hush up" *Zvezda* and *Pravda*. And now they have come out with it! It is *clear* that they themselves have thereby admitted the *danger*. They have shown themselves unable to pass it by and hush it up. They have been driven out of their position of silence. And Prokopovich and Blank in *Zaprosy Zhizni* echo them still more crudely, stupidly, tearfully.

Now of all times it is essential, in my opinion, to bring intense pressure to bear on *Rech*, to publish a *number* of articles against it and inflame the struggle still further. This is necessary both from the point of view of principle (since *only Zvezda* and *Pravda* are carrying on a campaign on behalf of working-class democracy, while both *Rech* and the Prokopoviches approvingly pat the liquidators on the back), and for practical reasons (since it is just this more lively struggle that must liven up both arguments and talks with the electors and their enrolment in the electoral registers).

Could you not find out how many people are registering, by polling districts, streets and professions? It would be extremely important to *encourage* them by concrete examples, in order to arouse competition between districts, streets and professions.

I hope you'll be kind enough also to inform *Novskaya Zvezda* that I insist on the return of my article replying to Blank ("Petty Artifices") if it is not printed in No. 18. I will in that case certainly print it in the journal. Now that *all* the liberals+liquidators+non-Party and Co. have turned against us, it would be criminal for us to keep silent.

The election campaign in Petersburg has begun successfully—the leadership has been won by *Zvezda* and *Pravda*—what is necessary is not to lose one's grip on it, and to carry through the fight to a finish. This is in the interests of

the paper itself, quite apart from everything else, which, of course, I do not mention.

I await news of the “positively decided” question.

With greetings,

V. Ulyanov

P.S. I still *await* a reply about the articles: “The Results of Six Months’ Work”.

P.P.S. Couldn’t you at least send me a cutting from No. 17 of *Nevskaya Zvezda*—the little article “Unity or Split?”

Written on August 2, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
Published for the first time
in the Fourth (Russian) Edition
of *Collected Works*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 52

To the Editor of *Pravda*

Dear Colleague,

You remind me again about the address of a friend. You have already asked me once for this address, and I sent it to you. It was added by me—I well remember—at the very end of a long letter. Look this up if you can. But perhaps it is simpler to repeat the address: Herrn Kurt Lauschner, Beuthen (Ober-Schlesien). Pickarerstr. 19/III, Germany. Inside it is essential to add: for Her Hörsing: Für Herrn Hörsing (there are two Beuthens in Germany, therefore it is necessary to specify “Ober-Schlesien”) . . . * has arrived. Many thanks. Danksy’s manuscript has also arrived. I am extremely surprised that today, when I had from you both *Pravda* and a packet of reactionary papers, I did not receive Thursday’s *Nevsky Golos*. But I, for a number of important reasons, very much need to have *Nevsky Golos* directly it appears. If it does not appear, please don’t be too lazy to send me two words about it at once. It is extremely important for me to know as soon as possible whether it appeared on Thursday, August 23 (as *Nevsky Golos* promised on August 17), and, if it did appear, to get a copy. By the way, I sent you a long time ago a list of issues of *Zvezda*, *Nevskaya Zvezda*, *Pravda* and *Zhivoye Dyelo* missing from my files. You still don’t reply whether you can send them. Yet one mutual friend told me the other day that you have files of *Zvezda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda*. Let me know, please, whether you have kept the list I sent, and whether you

* Some words are missing in the original. — Ed.

can send me the missing issues. I take advantage of this opportunity to congratulate Comrade Vitimsky (I hope it will not be difficult for you to pass this letter on to him) on the remarkably fine article in *Pravda* (No. 98) which I received today. The subject chosen was extremely topical, and was splendidly worked out in a brief but clear form. In general it would be useful from time to time to recall, quote and explain in *Pravda* Shchedrin and other writers of the "old" Narodnik democratic movement. For the readers of *Pravda*—for the 25,000—this would be appropriate and interesting, and also it would throw light on present-day questions of working-class democracy from another point of view, and in other words.

What is the circulation of *Pravda*? Don't you think it might be useful to publish monthly statistics, even briefly (circulation, name of town and district)? What could be the arguments against publishing them? If there are no special considerations, it seems to me that you should publish.

I almost forgot. We have had a number of complaints from various places abroad that neither when subscriptions are sent, nor when money is sent for particular issues, does *Pravda* arrive. I don't get it regularly now myself. This means undoubtedly that something is wrong in the dispatch department. Please take the most energetic steps you can. Look yourselves at the letters from abroad about subscriptions, and get the matter cleared up. Send one copy of *Pravda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda* to the following address: Frl. Slutzky: Katherinenstr. 8 g. H.II (bei Worte), Halensee, Berlin.

Written on September, 8, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1923
in the book *Iz epokhi "Zvezdy"*
i "Pravdy" (1911-14), Part III

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 56

To the Editorial Board of *Pravda*

Letter to the Editors

The undersigned, now in the capacity of a permanent political contributor to *Pravda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda*, considers it his duty to express his protest against the behaviour of the colleagues in charge of these newspapers at a critical time.

The elections in St. Petersburg, both in the workers' curia and in the 2nd urban curia, are a critical moment, a moment for realising the results of five years of work, a moment for determining, in many respects, the direction of work for the next five years.

At such a moment, the leading organ of working-class democrats must

follow a clear, firm, and precisely defined policy. But *Pravda*, which is in many respects effectively the leading organ, is *not* conducting such a policy.

Luch and *Metallist*, with their desperate shouts about "unity", are carrying on under that "popular" flag the *worst* policy of the liquidators, namely, insubordination of an insignificant minority to the vast majority of Marxist workers in St. Petersburg, imposition of the candidate of some three, five or ten tiny groups of intellectuals and a handful of workers on *hundreds* of consistent working-class democratic groups.

During the few days remaining before the election of workers' electors, during the few weeks remaining before elections in St. Petersburg in the 2nd curia, it is *Pravda's* undoubted duty to carry on a *merciless* fight against this *deception* of the mass of workers, behind the barrage of pious and popular phrases. Its bounden duty is in the most detailed fashion to explain, demonstrate, chew up for all and sundry, 1st, that liquidationism is a non-Marxist, liberal trend;

2nd, that unity requires the subordination of the minority to the majority, whereas the liquidators are beyond doubt, as the experience of eight months' work shows, an insignificant minority;

3rd, that those who want to support the *working-class* democracy must know *where* the mass of workers stand, and *where* the philistine intelligentsia, which is playing at Marxism;

4th, that the conference which the liquidators and *Luch* are fussing about has been denounced and exposed *both* by the neutral Plekhanov (he said straight out that "*non-Party* and *anti-Party* elements" took part in their conference) and even by Alexinsky, who is hostile to the anti-liquidators.

And so on, and so forth.

Unless *Pravda* explains all this in good time, it will be responsible for the confusion and the disruption, since, having the vast majority of the workers behind it and having explained matters in good time, *Pravda* would *most certainly* have ensured unity, because the liquidators are past masters at boasting and threats, but would never dare act against *Pravda*.

Pravda itself has admitted that there are two clearly formalised lines, platforms, collective wills (the August, or liquidators', line and the January line). Yet *Pravda* creates the opinion that it is carrying on some third line "of its own", invented only yesterday by someone and amounting (as we have learned from St. Petersburg through other channels, since *Pravda's* editorial board has stubbornly refused to favour us with a reply) either to letting the liquidators have one of the three candidates, or handing over to them the whole of the 2nd curia "in exchange for the workers' curia". If these rumours are untrue, *Pravda* bears the entire *responsibility* for them, because you cannot sow such uncertainty among Marxists that unquestionable *friends*, Marxists, believe these rumours, and pass them on.

At this hot time, *Nevskaya Zvezda* is closed down, without a single letter or explanation, collective exchange of opinion is *completely* interrupted, and

political contributors are left *in the dark*, not knowing *whom* they are helping after all to get elected; may it not be a liquidator? I am obliged hotly to protest against this, and to decline any responsibility for this abnormal situation, which is pregnant with drawn-out conflicts.

Please communicate this letter to the "boss" of *Pravda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda*, to the whole editorial board of both papers and all contributors who are consistent working-class democrats.

Greetings,

V. Ilyin

Written in the first half
of October 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 194-196

To Maxim Gorky

Dear A. M.,

The other day I had a letter from the editorial board of *Pravda* in Petersburg, in which they ask me to write to you that they would be extremely glad of your regular contributions. "We would like to offer Gorky 25 kopeks a line, but we are afraid of offending him." That's what they write to me.

To my mind, there is nothing at all to be offended at. Nobody could even dream of your contributions depending on considerations of payment. In the same way, everybody knows that the workers' *Pravda*, which usually pays 2 kopeks a line, and still more frequently pays nothing, cannot attract anyone by its fees.

But there is nothing bad about contributors' to a workers' paper receiving regular payment, however small it may be. In fact, it's all to the good. The circulation is now 20-25 thousand. It's time it began thinking of a proper arrangement about payment for contributions. What is bad about *everybody* working on a workers' paper beginning to earn a little? And how can there be anything offensive in this proposal?

I am sure that the fears of the Petersburg editors of *Pravda* are quite without foundation, and that you will not treat their proposal otherwise than in comradely fashion. Write a couple of words, either to them direct at the office, or to me.

Tomorrow is the election of electors in Petersburg (for the worker curia). The struggle with the liquidators has developed. In Moscow and Kharkov the Party people have won.

Have you seen *Luch*, and do you get it at all? There are people who have fiddled the cards and pretend to be "kind-hearted"!

I have seen an advertisement for *Krugozor*. Is this your undertaking, or are you there by invitation?

Every good wish, and above all for your health. Greetings to M. F.

Yours,
Lenin

47. Ulica Lubomirskiego. Krakau.

Written on October 17, 1912

Sent to Capri

First published in 1924 in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 59—60

To Maxim Gorky

(Extract)

Dear Al. M.,

It seems a long time since we have had any word from you. How are you getting on? Are you well?

I received today No. 187 of *Pravda* with the subscriptions for 1913. The paper is having a hard passage: since the summer decline in circulation, the rise has been *very* slow, and a deficit remains. They have even temporarily stopped payment to two permanent contributors, which has made our position exceptionally difficult.

We propose to develop intensive agitation among the workers for *subscriptions*, and to use the money collected to strengthen the paper and expand it, because since the opening of the Duma there has been no room at all for articles.

I hope you too will take part in the agitation for subscriptions, in order to help in 'rescuing' the paper. In what form? If you have a tale or something suitable, the announcement of it will make very good agitation. If not, send them a promise to provide one in the near future, and particularly in 1913. Finally, a few simple lines, in a *letter to the workers* from you, about the importance of supporting the workers' paper *actively* (by subscriptions, sales, collections), would also be splendid agitation.

Please drop a line about one or the other—direct to the editor of *Pravda* (2 Yamskaya, St. Petersburg) or to me here (Ulijanow, 47, Lubomirskiego, Krakau).

Written on December 22 or 23, 1912

Sent to Capri

First published in 1924

in *Lenin Miscellany I*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 67

To Maxim Gorky

Dear A. M.,

Now, sir, what's the meaning of this bad behaviour of yours? You're overworked, tired, your nerves are out of order. This is all wrong. In Capri of all places, and in the winter when there are probably less "visitors", you ought to have a regular way of life. You have no one to look after you, is that why you have let yourself slide like this? Honestly, it's no good. Pull yourself together and give yourself a stricter régime, really! Falling ill in times like these just isn't allowed. Have you begun working at night? Why, when I was in Capri, I was told that it was only with my coming that things had got out of hand, while before me everyone went to bed at the right time. You must rest and establish a régime, without fail.

I will write to Troyanovsky and his wife about your wish to meet them. This would be a really good thing. They are good people. We haven't seen much of them at work yet, but everything we have heard up to now speaks in their favour. They also have money. They might get into their stride and do a great deal for the journal. Troyanovskaya is going to Russia soon.

It is a great joy to me, and to all of us, that you are *taking up Prosveshcheniye*. I confess that I did have the thought: now as soon as I write about our little journal, A. M. will lose his enthusiasm. I repent, I repent of such thoughts.

Now it really will be splendid if little by little we draw in fiction writers and set *Prosveshcheniye* going! Excellent! The reader is new, proletarian; we shall make the journal cheap; you will let in only democratic fiction, without moaning, without renegade stuff. We shall consolidate the workers. And the workers now are fine. Our six deputies in the Duma from the worker curia have now begun to work *outside the Duma* so energetically that it is a joy to see. This is where people will build up a real workers' party! We were never able to bring this off in the Third Duma. Have you seen the letter in *Luch* (No. 24) from the four deputies about their resignation? A good letter, wasn't it?

And have you seen in *Pravda* how mildly Alexinsky is writing, and so far not making a row? Wonderful! He sent one "Manifesto" (why he entered *Pravda*). They didn't print it. And still, *so far*, he is not making a row. Wonderful! But Bogdanov is making a row: a piece of exceptional stupidity in *Pravda* No. 24. No, we shall never get anywhere with him! I have read his *Engineer Mannie*. It's the same old Machism=idealism, so concealed that neither the workers nor the stupid editors of *Pravda* understood it. No, this Machist is as hopeless as Lunacharsky (thanks for his article). If only Lunacharsky could be separated from Bogdanov in aesthetics, as Alexinsky has begun to draw apart from him in politics . . . if only . . .

As regards the theory of matter and its structure, I am fully in agreement with you that one should write about it, and that it is a good remedy against

“the poison which the shapeless Russian soul is sucking”. Only you are wrong to call this poison “metaphysics”. It ought to be called *idealism* and agnosticism.

For the Machists call materialism metaphysics! And it so happens that a *host* of the most prominent present-day physicists, *on the occasion* of the “wonders” of radium, electrons, etc., are smuggling in the *God business*—both the crudest and the most subtle—in the shape of philosophical idealism.

As regards nationalism I am fully in agreement with you that we ought to take this up more seriously. We have a marvellous Georgian who has sat down to write a big article for *Prosveshcheniye*, for which he has collected *all* the Austrian and other materials. We shall go at this hard. But that our resolutions (I am sending them in printed form) “are formalities, bureaucracy”, there your abuse is off target. No. It’s not a formality. In Russia and in the Caucasus the Georgian + Armenian + Tartar + Russian Social-Democrats have worked *together*, in a *single* Social-Democratic organisation *for more than ten years*. This is not a phrase, but the proletarian solution of the problem of nationalities. The only solution. So it was in Riga too: Russians + Letts + Lithuanians. *Only the separatists*—the Bund—used to stand aloof. The same at Vilna.

There are two good Social-Democratic pamphlets on the nationalities problem: Strasser and Pannekoek. Would you like me to send them to you? Will you find anyone to translate them from the German for you?

No, the disgusting situation that exists in Austria *won’t happen* here. We won’t allow it! And there are more of our Great Russians here. With the workers on our side we won’t let in any of the “Austrian spirit”.

As regards Pyatnitsky, I am *for* prosecution. There is no need to stand on ceremony. Sentimentalism would be unforgivable. Socialists are not at all against use of the state court. We are *for* making use of legality. Marx and Bebel made use of the state court *even* against their socialist opponents. One must know *how* to do it, but it must be done.

Pyatnitsky must be prosecuted, and no nonsense. If you hear reproaches against you for this—spit in the mugs of those who make them. It is the hypocrites who will reproach you. To give way to Pyatnitsky, to let him off for fear of going to court, would be *unforgivable*.

Well, I have chattered more than enough. Write and tell me about your health.

Yours,

Lenin

P.S. We know *Foma*-Piterets. He is now at Narym. *Foma* from the Urals? We don’t seem to remember him. At the Congress of 1907 there was a *Foma*-Piterets.

Written between February 15 and 25, 1913 *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 83–85

Sent from Cracow to Capri

First published in 1924

in *Lenin Miscellany I*

To the Editor of *Pravda*

Dear Colleague,

I read today in *Pravda* and in *Luch* about the result of the elections for the worker curia in Petersburg. I cannot but express to you my congratulations on the leading article in No. 146. At a moment of defeat, inflicted not by the Social-Democrats (analysis of the figures clearly shows that it was not Social-Democrats who got the liquidators in), the editorial board at once took the appropriate, firm and dignified tone in pointing out the significance of a protest in principle against "belittling". Don't misunderstand these lines. Don't think that they are produced by anything except the desire to share my thoughts, so natural for a constant contributor. It was a difficult time. The struggle was hard. Almost everything possible was done but demoralisation had its effect, and the non-Party workers gave their votes to the opportunists. All the more essential, then, is the strictly principled, insistent and stubborn work of the united whole (the united editorial board, for example, or the general body of contributors, and so forth) to counteract the demoralisation.

It is extremely important not to break off the study of the election results which *Pravda* began, but to continue it. To collect and print the votes of all the candidates (you have only 9 out of 13). To collect and print an enquiry into how the non-Party workers voted, how the Putilov workers voted (7 and 2 liquidators), the Semyannikov workers voted (2 and 1 liquidator), and so on, factory by factory.

Only *Pravda* can do this important job with success.

Greetings and best wishes.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on November 2, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1923 in the book
Iz epokhi "Zvezdy" i "Pravdy" (1911-14),
Part III

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 61-62

To the Editor of *Pravda*

Dear Colleague,

I wrote to Gorky as you requested, and received a reply from him today. He writes:

"Send the enclosed note to *Pravda*. There is no question of fee, that is

nonsense. I will work for the paper, and will soon begin sending it manuscripts. I couldn't do it up to now only because I have been desperately busy, putting in about 12 hours a day; it's back-breaking work."

As you see, Gorky's attitude is very friendly.* I hope you will reciprocate, and see that *Pravda* is sent to him *regularly*. The forwarding department sometimes slips up, so that from time to time you must check and check again.

If you want to retain his friendly interest, send him (through me) any new publication which might be of interest to him, and also any particular manuscripts.

I would very much ask you to send me *Pravda* Nos. 146, 147, 148 and *Neuskaya Zvezda* Nos. 26 and 27, at least two copies of each.

Are you thinking of replying to *Luch's* maliciously vicious attacks? These rascals first broke away, and are now shouting about a split! Their *list* did get *less* {the total vote for the whole list, all 6 candidates} both on Oct. 17 and on Oct. 18! Get hold *without fail* of the exact figures of the polling for *all* the liquidator candidates, from Zaitsev or some other of the electors. This is *terribly* important! And buy the *printed* list of representatives at the office of the St. Petersburg city authorities, as I asked! Make sure to *do* this without fail!

All the best,

Yours . . .

Congratulations and good wishes to all the staff, editors and friends of *Pravda* on the occasion of the victory of its supporters in St. Petersburg, Kharkov and elsewhere!

P.S. Be sure to write now about the circulation of *Pravda* and *Luch*! Have you enough material?

Written after November 2, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 200—201

To the Editor of *Pravda*

Dear Colleague,

I send you the St. Petersburg Mandate which by chance, thanks to an opportunity of very speedy delivery, reached us from Petersburg. Publish this Mandate to the St. Petersburg deputy without fail, in a prominent position and in large type. It is quite intolerable that *Luch*, distorting the Mandate, is

* I enclose Gorky's letter to *Souremenny Mir* requesting them to hand his *Tale* over to you. *Get it as soon as possible.*

already mentioning it and printing reports about it, while *Pravda*, whose supporters drew up the Mandate and got it adopted and put it into action, is silent about it . . . What does this mean? Can a workers' newspaper exist if it behaves with such contempt for what interests the workers? (Naturally, if certain expressions and phrases are undesirable from the censorship point of view, partial changes are possible, as usually happens in such cases.) But not to print such a thing means not only to give ground for hundreds of disputes, in which *Pravda* will be the guilty party, but also to inflict the greatest possible damage on it as a newspaper, on the circulation and organisation of the paper as an undertaking. A newspaper, after all, is not just something for the reader to do a bit of reading in and the writer to do a bit of writing in. A newspaper must itself seek out, itself discover in good time and, at the appropriate moment, print certain material. A paper must look for and find the contacts it needs. Yet here suddenly is a Mandate to the St. Petersburg deputy, coming from the supporters of *Pravda*, but not printed in *Pravda* . . . Please reply immediately on receiving this letter.

Written on November 24, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1923 in the book
Iz epokhi "Zvezdy" i "Pravdy"
(1911-14), Part III

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 64

To the Editor of *Pravda*

Dear Colleague,

We were extremely sad to see two blunders in Sunday's *Pravda*. First, there was no article about the Basle Congress, and secondly, you did not print the greetings to the Congress from Badayev and the others. As regards the first point, we are partly to blame as well, because we did not send an article. We were busy with extremely urgent and important affairs. It would not have been at all difficult to write such an article, and the editorial board of *Pravda* knew that the Congress was opening on Sunday. But the second omission is entirely the responsibility of Badayev. It is quite unforgivable that he is not concerned about his paper, that he signs anything that may turn up without at once taking it to his paper. A workers' paper in Petersburg without the co-operation of the workers' deputy for Petersburg (particularly as he is a *Pravda* supporter) is a stupid situation. It is most essential to pay as much attention as possible to this important omission, both on the part of the whole editorial board and on the part of Baturin (to whom, by the way, please pass on this letter, and from whom it would be very pleasant to have a couple of lines), and on the part of the deputy himself.

You asked for the address of Gorky. Here it is: Signor Massimo Gorki. Villa Spinola. *Capri* (Napoli). Italie.

Here is the address of a correspondent in Rome; write to him, he will contribute to *Pravda*: B. Antonoff, Via le Giulio Cesare, 47. Roma. Italy.

Why don't you send the money you owe? This delay is causing us great difficulties. Please don't be late. Why haven't you replied to the request to print a notice in the paper that the editorial board is looking for Nos. 5-10 of *Pravda*?

I wish you all the best.

Yours,
V.

Written on November 26, 1912
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1923 in the book
Iz epokhi "Zvezdy" i "Pravdy"
(1911-14), Part III

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 65-66

A Letter to J. V. Stalin

For Vasilyev

December 6.

Dear friend, with regard to January 9, it is highly important to think things over and make preparations in advance. A leaflet must be prepared in advance calling for meetings, a one-day strike, and demonstrations (the latter should be decided on the spot, where it will be easier to decide). We must "correct" the mistake of November 15—correct it against the opportunists, of course. The slogans in the leaflet must be the three main revolutionary ones (a republic, an eight-hour working day, and confiscation of the landed estates), with special emphasis on the 300 years' "infamy" of the Romanov dynasty. If there is no complete and absolute certainty that we can have the leaflet in St. Petersburg, we must prepare it here beforehand and take it there. The liquidators' impudence over Jagiello is unparalleled. If all of our six representatives have been elected by the worker curia, we must not tacitly submit to any Siberians. The six must by all means voice the most emphatic protest if they are outvoted; they must print their protest in *Dyen* and declare that they are appealing to the rank and file, to the workers' organisations. The liquidators want to inflate their majority and force through a split with the Polish Social-Democrats. Is it possible that the workers' representatives from six working-class gubernias will submit to the Skobelevs and Co. or to a chance Siberian? Write more often and in greater detail.

The *Luch* articles against strikes are the height of villainy. We must come out sharply against them in the illegal press. Let me know as soon as possible which of the plans made by you for such action you have chosen.

Best regards.

P.S. Return the document—it is inconvenient to use it, its holder may be in St. Petersburg.

Written December 6, 1912''
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in the book
The Period of Zvezda and Pravda,
1911-14, Issue III, 1923

Collected Works, Vol. 18, pp. 430—431

To the Editorial Board of *Pravda*

Dear Colleagues,

I cannot but express my indignation at the printing by the editorial board of Mr. Bogdanov's stupid and impudent letter in No. 24, and the senseless note from the editors. It had been precisely and clearly laid down as a condition that such things should not be printed without consultation.

The editorial board is mocking us by infringing the conditions. It is not surprising that for *the same* reasons no confidence *whatever* is aroused by the letter of Mikhanchi, who contradicts himself a hundred times in it.

The enquiry from the Riga workers (No. 24) is dated January 19. There was every possibility both of linking it up with the article on Narodism in No. 17 (January 22) and of sending it here in good time. I repeat that the editorial board is making a mockery of the conditions laid down. I insistently ask you, after those whom it concerns have read this letter, *immediately* to pass it on to the publisher of the newspaper, Deputy Badayev.

Yours faithfully,

V. Ilyin

Written on February 14, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
Published for the first time
in the Fourth (Russian) Edition
of *Collected Works*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 81

To the Editorial Board of *Pravda*

Dear Colleagues,

Let me first of all congratulate you on the vast improvement in the whole conduct of the paper which has become apparent during the last few days. I want to congratulate you and to wish you further successes in the same direction. The day before yesterday I sent the first two short articles entitled "An Increasing Discrepancy". From No. 234 of *Pravda* I see clearly that these articles will not be suitable. Therefore please pass them over without delay to *Prosveshcheniye*, to which I am sending the final section. Please pass over to them also the other articles which have not been printed (the reply to Mayevsky; on morality; Bulgakov on the peasants—Bulgakov's articles from *Russkaya Mysl*, etc.). Please be sure to reply as soon as possible whether you have done this. Send me Nos. 7, 8, 21 and 24 of *Luch* and No. 25 of *Pravda*. I had always been getting *Pravda* until lately in the mornings, as I do *Rech* and *Novoye Vremya*. But for the last week *Pravda* has begun to come late, and arrives only in the evenings. Clearly the dispatch department is working carelessly. I earnestly request you to take steps to see that they display greater care with the daily post.

I receive no new books at all. Steps must be taken (a) to get them from the publishers on a deposit account, (b) to get the Duma and official publications through the deputies. It is absolutely impossible to work without books . . . I don't receive either *Zavety* or *Russkaya Molva*. I can't get on without them. I particularly need the issue of *Russkaya Molva* where they wrote about *Luch* and explained that the Mensheviks are against underground work.

March 1 (14) will be the 30th anniversary of the death of Marx. You ought to publish a supplement for two or three kopeks, four pages in *Pravda* format with a big portrait of Marx and a number of small articles. There should also be detailed advertisements both for *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye*. Probably it would pay for itself with a circulation of 25-30 thousand, and make a profit. If you agree, cable me: "Draw up" (we shall then sit down to write), then, in addition, send a more detailed reply. Reply please, two or three times a week in a few lines, about what articles you have received and which will be printed.

In my opinion you were quite right to publish *Dnevnik* in full, as a first step. But for the future it would be better to hold up such long (and bad) articles, and to begin correspondence about passing them over to *Prosveshcheniye*.

Yours,
I.

Written on February 21, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1923 in the book
Iz epokhi "Zvezdy" i "Pravdy"
(1911-14). Part III

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 86-87

To the Editorial Board of *Pravda*

For Iv. Iv.

Dear Comrades,

Many thanks for your detailed letter and very valuable information. Write more often, and give us contacts with the districts.

It is very important that the liquidators are giving a "hostile" reception to the rapprochement of the pro-Party Mensheviks with the Party. A resolution about this ought to be adopted in the districts. This fact proves for the 1,000th time that the liquidators have finally become a non-Party and anti-Party element, that unity is possible only against them (against *Luch*) and by no means with them. You are quite right, in my belief, in attributing great importance to this fact. One can't in any way talk about unity with the liquidators: one cannot unite the Party with the destroyers of the Party. The resolution of the February Conference of 1913 about unity from below, it seems to me, should be hectographed (if there are not enough copies), adding the resolution against *Luch* with precise list of the five points.

Furthermore, I fully share your opinion about the importance of a campaign against the Seven, and of the workers displaying initiative in this respect. The Seven are wavering and near-Party, but to a very little extent Party people. One can enter into agreements with them within the Duma, in order to direct them and drag them after oneself, but it would be a crime to gloss over their liquidationism, their lack of character and principle. We must support and develop the campaign against the Seven. Now that the liquidators' *Luch* is expanding (obviously on liberals' money, because its deficit is 1,000 rubles a month, and its circulation is only 12,000) we must strengthen tenfold the campaign to support the six workers' deputies, to increase *Pravda's* readership, to extend *Pravda*. We must take the struggle for *Pravda* direct into the factories, pressing them to subscribe for more copies, winning away every factory from *Luch*, so that there is a competition between the factories for the largest number of subscribers to *Pravda*. A victory of Party principles is a victory for *Pravda* and vice versa. We should start this kind of campaign: to increase the circulation of *Pravda* from 30,000 to 50,000-60,000, and the number of subscribers from 5,000 to 20,000, and proceed unfalteringly in this direction. Then we shall extend and improve *Pravda*.

Your remarks about the lack of intellectuals are very true. And we won't have them. *Pravda* and the illegal publications will replace them. You should publish at least hectographed resolutions and leaflets until more is technically possible. There should be a weekly publication of 30-60 copies of hectographed resolutions of the Petersburg Committee by way of directives. We could always come to an agreement by correspondence about these resolutions. Think this

over. It will strengthen the illegal work, reduce the number of victims, make the propaganda more general, etc.

The resolution of the Petersburg Committee for the Six against the Seven is excellent. Haven't you even hectographed it? This is absolutely essential. Now this is just the kind of campaign that is necessary. We shall try to send you articles for *Izvestia*. Let us know the dates. Tell us what the size will be, and what the length of the articles should be.

L.

Written on April 5, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1923 in the book
Iz epokhi "Zvezdy" i "Pravdy"
(1911-14), Part III

Collected works, Vol. 35, pp. 95-96

Educated Deputies

At the evening sitting on April 2, the Octobrist L. G. Lyuts said, when objecting to the working-class deputies' demand for a discussion of the question asked about the Lena events.

"Two days from now will be the anniversary of the events on the Lena. Apparently the Social-Democrats are trying to *budirovat* the feelings of the workers in order to encourage excesses . . ."

The French word *bouder*, rendered in Russian by *budirovat* means *to sulk*, *to pout*. Mr. Lyuts, apparently, derives *budirovat* from *budorazhit* (excite) or, perhaps, *vozбудit* (incite). How the bourgeois deputies and the bourgeois press laughed when a peasant in the First Duma used the foreign word "prerogatives" in the sense of barriers ("*rogatki*" in Russ.—*Ed.*)! The mistake was all the more pardonable since various prerogatives enjoyed by the ruling classes are actually barriers in Russian life. Mr. Lyuts' educational attainments, however, did not "*vozbudirovat*" the laughter of his educated friends or their press.

Pravda No. 83, April 10, 1913
Signed: B.

Collected Works, Vol. 19, p. 52

To Maxim Gorky

Dear A. M.,

How do you stand about a little article or a story for the *May* issue of *Prosveshcheniye*? They write to me from there that they could publish 10-15 thousand (that's how we are marching ahead!), if there were something from you. Drop me a line whether there will be. Then *Pravda* reprints it, and we get 40,000 readers. Yes . . . the affairs of *Prosveshcheniye* could begin to prosper; otherwise there *does not exist*, devil take it, a single consistent journal for the workers, for the *Social-Democrats*, for revolutionary democracy; nothing but rotten sour-pusses of one kind or another.

How is your health? Have you rested, and will you be taking a rest in the summer? It is essential, my word on it, that you should have a *good* rest!

Things are not too well with me. The wife is down with goitre. Nerves! My nerves are also playing me up a little. We are spending the summer in the village of Poronin, near Zakopane. (My address is: Herrn Wl. Ulianow, *Poronin Galizien*. Austria.) It's a good place, and healthy. Height about 700 metres. Suppose you took it into your head to pay us a visit? There will be interesting workers from Russia. Zakopane (seven versts from us) is a well-known health resort.

Have you seen Demyan Bedny's *Fables*? I will send them if you haven't. If you have, write and say what you think of them.

Do you get *Pravda* and *Luch* regularly? Our cause is going ahead—in spite of everything—and the workers' party is being built up as a *revolutionary* Social-Democratic party, against the liberal renegades, the liquidators. We shall have cause to celebrate one day. We are rejoicing just now at the victory of the workers in Petersburg over the liquidators when the Board of the new Metalworkers' Union was elected.

And "your" Lunacharsky is a fine one!! Oh, what a fine fellow! Maeterlinck, he says, has "scientific mysticism" Or Lunacharsky and Bogdanov are perhaps no longer yours?

Joking apart. *Keep well*. Send me a couple of words. *Rest* as well as you can.

Yours,

Lenin

Ulianow, Austria. *Poronin* (Galizie).

How did you find the jubilee number of *Pravda*?

Written not earlier than May 9-10, 1913

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 97-98

Sent to Capri

First published in 1924
in *Lenin Miscellany I*

To the Editorial Board of *Pravda*

Dear Colleagues,

Today at last I have received the file of *Pravda* for the last few days or, more precisely, for the last week. My best thanks and best congratulations on your success: in my opinion the paper has now undoubtedly *found* its feet. The improvement is a tremendous one and a serious one, and, let us hope, firm and for good. The length of Plekhanov's articles and the abundance of anti-liquidationism (about which one of the workers' deputies writes to me) are now questions of detail; it won't be difficult to correct matters in this respect, now that the paper has taken a firm stand, and I think that the workers on the spot will see at once how to make the necessary correction. We have also received the detailed letter of a member of the staff (who unfortunately has not the pleasant "deputy" quality), and we were very glad of it, congratulating him on every kind of success. It seems as though now (and only now, after the St—v* adventure) the period of wavering has ended . . . touch wood! . . .

I don't advise you to present Plekhanov with ultimatums: it is too early, it may do harm!! If you do write to him, write as kindly and mildly as possible. He is valuable now because he is fighting the enemies of the working-class movement.

As regards Demyan Bedny, I continue *to be for*. Don't find fault, friends, with human failings! Talent is rare. It should be systematically and carefully supported. It will be a sin on your conscience, a great sin (a hundred times bigger than various personal "sins", if such occur . . .) against the democratic working-class movement, if you don't draw in this talented contributor and *don't help* him. The disputes were petty, the cause is a serious one. Think over this!

As regards expansion, I have recently written in detail to one of the *Prosveshcheniye* people; I hope you also *have* seen the letter. I, too, am in favour of financial caution: to provide the same six pages (the present extra sheets) *in another form*, with a different sauce and title and content: 4 pages of Sunday supplement for the advanced workers + 2 pages of a "workers' kopek" for 1 kopek, for the *masses*, to win a hundred thousand readers, with an especially popular content. You shouldn't imitate *Luch* but go your *own* road, the proletarian road: 4 pages for the advanced *workers* and 2 pages (and *later* even 4) for the *masses*, for a long and stubborn battle for 100,000 readers. We must go wide and deep, into the masses, and not follow intellectual patterns like *Luch*.

Once again greetings, congratulations and best wishes.

Yours,

V. I.

* Who this refers to has not been established. — Ed.

Another special greeting to Vitimsky: his article about the workers' press and workers' democracy against the liberals was *very successful!!* And the Bogdanov "Ideology" is *certain* to be heresy: I promise you that I will prove this exactly!!

Marxists are glad of an increase in circulation when it is increased by *Marxist* articles, and not by articles *against Marxism*. We want a principled paper—all the contributors and readers of *Pravda* want it—a Marxist, not Machist paper? Isn't that so?

P.S. The address is not Paronen, but *Poronin* (Galizien), and be sure to add on the wrapper: *via Warsaw-Frontier-Zakopane*.

Written not earlier than May 25, 1913
Sent to St. Petersburg
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 99–100

To V. M. Kasparov

(Extract)

Dear Comrade,

I have received and read your article. I think the subject was well chosen and has been correctly elaborated, but the article will need some polishing up. There is far too much—how shall I put it?—"agitation", which is out of place in an article on a *theoretical* subject. Either you yourself, I think, ought to work it over, or we could do it.

Written between June 18 and 22, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Berlin
First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 260

To the Editorial Board of *Pravda Truda*

P.S. I have not received No. 5 of *Pravda Truda*. Thank you very much for sending me *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*: only No. 7 is missing, and also Nos. 7 and 9 of *Nash Put*. Please send them.

It seems to me that you are making a gigantic mistake in drifting uncounsciously with the stream *and not changing* the tone of the paper. Everything

suggests that both the tone *and the content* of the news section must be *changed*. It is essential to *achieve* legality, ability to pass the censor. This can and must be achieved. Otherwise you are destroying, for no reason at all, the work you have undertaken. Think this over more seriously.

Written not earlier than September 30, 1913
Sent from Poronin to St. Petersburg
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Collected Works, Vol. 35. p. III

To the Editorial Board of *Za Pravdu*

To the Editor: The article by "Friend" in No. 25 is bad. Sharp, and nothing more. For God's sake, less sharpness. Analyse the arguments more calmly, repeat the *truth* as circumstantially and simply as possible. That, and only that, is the way to ensure definite victory.

Written not earlier than November 16, 1913
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 126

To the Editors of *Put Pravdy*

February 9, 1914

Dear Colleagues,

I have received a letter from the secretary about the unfortunate article which has put the newspaper in peril. It's a great pity that publicity was given (was it a board decision?) to this unfortunate article in which they contrived to find evidence of ties between the papers

Having only just come home after a journey "on matters of business" I looked through all the published issues and have *failed to find two* articles which I sent (about a month ago!) in reply to F. D. on the subject of unity ("The Liquidators' Leader on the Liquidators' Terms of Unity" is the title of the first of these articles). The articles are absolutely essential, especially in view of the new journal *Borba*, and it is necessary to publish them *before* it comes out. Yet the articles have not been published, and (as though making a mockery of any collective work) you haven't written me a single line for a whole month about their fate! ((If they are too long, which however is improbable, I would have sent them to *Prosveshcheniye*.)

Really, I quite fail to understand this way of doing business! How can you treat contributors—and colleagues—in this manner?
Please, reply!

With greetings,
V. I.

P.S. Please send me
Proletarskaya Pravda No. 11 (29)
Put Pravdy No. 2
Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta No. 8 (126).

P.P.S. Do you happen to have a file of the journal *Mysl*, or any separate issues? Please, send them over.

Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Collected Works, Vol. 36, pp. 268–269

To the Editors of *Put Pravdy*

(Extract)

Dear Colleagues,

I welcome your paper in every way, and particularly its obvious improvement. At last the literary side is beginning to be well organised! The next job is the *business* side. You must not leave the question of subscribers “unpublished” either: you should announce their number, otherwise you cannot rise from the small circle level to full-scale organisation, from a private enterprise to a collective one.

Nor can I pass over an obvious mistake in No. 22, where side by side with the correct resolution from the Vyborg workers (on Buryanov) you have, without comment from the editors, a longer and disgustingly double-faced resolution from the Zurich group. *Pravda*’s word is law; its silence tends to confuse the workers; its abstention sows bewilderment.

Written before March 23, 1914
Sent from Cracow to St. Petersburg
First published in 1956
in the journal *Kommunist* No. 5

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 273

"Neighbouring Squires"

(Extract)

There are certain winged words which most aptly express rather complex phenomena. Among these should undoubtedly be included the statement made by a certain landlord, member of the Right majority in the Duma, in connection with Goremykin's speech during the historic session of April 22.

"How nice it would be to have squire Goremykin for a neighbour!"

These words, uttered on the day the workers' and peasants' deputies were ejected from the Duma, are a very useful reminder now that these deputies have resumed their seats. These words admirably describe the force which the democrats have to contend with within the Duma and outside it.

The petty squire who uttered these winged words spoke them in jest but he unwittingly voiced a truth that was more serious and profound than he had intended.

Put Pravdy No. 80, May 8, 1914

Collected Works, Vol. 20, p. 284

To Y. Larin

For Y. Larin

Dear Comrade,

To my regret, the list of contributors, the indefinite nature of the miscellany, the restrictions imposed on the contributors, and the lack of information about some of them—all of this obliges me to decline to participate.

With Social-Democratic greetings,

Lenin

Written on March 13, 1916
Sent from Zurich to Stockholm
First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 372

To J. S. Hanecki and Karl Radek

(Extract)

Comrades Hanecki and Radek: Herrn Fürstenberg
8. Birgerjarlsgatan. 8. Stockholm

April 12, 1917

We hope completely to straighten out the line of *Pravda*, which has wobbled towards "Kautskyism".

Write articles for *Pravda* on foreign affairs—very short and in the *Pravda* spirit (it's so small! There is so little space! We are working to enlarge it). Also, most briefly, about the German revolutionary movement and the Leftist press.

Written on April 12, 1917
Sent from Petrograd to Stockholm
First published in 1923 in the magazine
Proletarskaya Revolutsiya, No. 9

Collected Works, Vol. 36, p. 445

To the Bureau of the Central Committee Abroad

(Extracts)

August 17 (30), 1917

(6) We are making the very greatest and unforgivable mistake in delaying or postponing the convening of a conference of the Left to found a Third International. It is just now, when Zimmerwald is so shamefully wavering or obliged to be inactive, just now *while* there *still* is in Russia a legal (almost legal) internationalist party with more than 200,000 (240,000) members* (which does not exist anywhere else in the world in wartime), it is just now that we are in duty bound to call a conference of the Left, and we shall really be criminals if we are *late* in doing so (the Bolshevik Party in Russia is being driven more and more underground day by day). . . .

(9) You should send here, if possible every week, first, articles for the provincial and Petrograd Party press (reviews of the Left-wing movement abroad, facts, facts, facts); secondly, leaflets (4-8-16 small pages) for publication as booklets. Summaries of *facts* about the collapse of the International, the disgrace of the social-chauvinists, the disgrace of the Kautskians, the growth

* Seventeen daily papers; 1,415,000 copies weekly altogether; 320,000 daily.

of the movement of the Left: at least 4 booklets on each of these subjects, 16-32 small pages each. *Facts and facts*. There is a hope of publishing this. Reply at once whether you can take it on. When sending it on by our method (there can be no question now of sending it legally) I think it is *all the same* which language it is written in.

(10) I hope you have the file of *Pravda*, and subscribing to *Novaya Zhizn*. If you have not received *Rabochy i Soldat* (closed down), *Proletarskoye Dyelo* (Kronstadt) and *Sotsial-Democrat* (Moscow), write at once, and I will send them as soon as the new method, being tested for the first time by this letter, is organised satisfactorily.

P.S. August 18. I have just received Nos. 1, 2, 4 of the new paper *Proletary*, the Central Organ — of course, they will soon close it down. I will try and send it to you. I am sending Nos. 1-7.

August 20. I have still not succeeded in sending off my letter, and probably won't succeed for some time. So this is becoming something like a diary instead of a letter! It can't be helped. You must have a lot of patience and determination, if you want to communicate at all with internationalists in the "most free" imperialist republic. Today I have learned from *Izvestia* that *News of the Stockholm Information Bureau of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies* is being published weekly in Stockholm. Try to send files of all Stockholm publications. *We see nothing*.

Sent from Helsinki to Stockholm
First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Collected Works, Vol. 35, pp. 320, 322, 323

The Revolutionary Phrase

(Extract)

When I said at a Party meeting that the revolutionary phrase about a revolutionary war might ruin our revolution, I was reproached for the sharpness of my polemics. There are, however, moments, when a question must be raised sharply and things given their proper names, the danger being that otherwise irreparable harm may be done to the Party and the revolution.

Revolutionary phrase-making, more often than not, is a disease from which revolutionary parties suffer at times when they constitute, directly or indirectly, a combination, alliance or intermingling of proletarian and petty-bourgeois elements, and when the course of revolutionary events is marked by big, rapid zigzags. By revolutionary phrasemaking we mean the repetition of revolutionary slogans irrespective of objective circumstances at a given turn

in events, in the given state of affairs obtaining at the time. The slogans are superb; alluring, intoxicating, but there are no grounds for them; such is the nature of the revolutionary phrase.

Pravda No. 31, February 21, 1918
Signed: *Karpov*

Collected Works, Vol. 27, p. 19

The Itch

(Extract)

The itch is a painful disease. And when people are seized by the itch of revolutionary phrase-making the mere sight of this disease causes intolerable suffering.

Truths that are simple, clear, comprehensible, obvious and apparently indisputable to all who belong to the working people are distorted by those suffering from the above-mentioned kind of itch. Often this distortion arises from the best, the noblest and loftiest impulses, "merely" owing to a failure to digest well-known theoretical truths or a childishly crude, schoolboyishly slavish repetition of them irrelevantly (people don't know "what's what"). But the itch does not cease to be harmful on that account.

Written on February 22, 1918
Published on February 22, 1918
in the evening edition of *Pravda* No. 33
Signed: *Karpov*

Collected Works, Vol. 27, p. 36

Stop Spoiling the Russian Language

**SOME THOUGHTS AT LEISURE, i.e., WHILE LISTENING
TO SPEECHES AT MEETINGS**

We are spoiling the Russian language. We are using foreign words unnecessarily. And we use them incorrectly. Why use the foreign word *defekty* when we have three Russian synonyms — *nedochoty*, *nedostatki*, *probely*.

A man who has recently learned to read in general, and to read newspapers in particular, will, of course, if he reads them diligently, willy-nilly absorb journalistic turns of speech. However, it is the language of the newspapers that is beginning to suffer. If a man who has recently learned to read uses foreign

words as a novelty, he is to be excused, but there is no excuse for a writer. Is it not time for us to declare war on the unnecessary use of foreign words?

I must admit that the unnecessary use of foreign words annoys me (because it makes it more difficult for us to exercise our influence over the masses) but some of the mistakes made by those who write in the newspapers make me really angry. For instance—the word *budirovat* is used in the meaning of arouse, awaken, stir up. It comes from the French word *bouder* which means to sulk, to pout, which is what *budirovat* should really mean. This adoption of Nizhni-Novgorod French is the adoption of the worst from the worst representatives of the Russian landowning class, who learned some French but who, first, did not master the language, and who, secondly, distorted the Russian language.

Is it not time to declare war on the spoiling of Russian?

Written in 1919 or 1920

First published in *Pravda* No. 275

December 3, 1924

Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 30, p. 298

To G. M. Krzhizhanovsky

Gleb Maximilianovich,

I have received and read the article.

Magnificent.

We need *several* such articles. Then we shall publish them as a pamphlet. What we lack is specialists with a wide horizon and “an eye for the future”.

It is necessary (1) *for the time being* to cut out the footnotes or reduce them. There are too many of them for a newspaper (I will have a talk with the editor tomorrow).

(2) Would it not be possible to add a *plan*, not a technical one (this, of course, is a job for *many* people, and not to be done in a hurry), but a political or state plan, i.e., a task for the proletariat?

Approximately as follows: in 10 (5?) years let us build 20-30 (30-50?) power stations, in order to cover the whole country with a network of centres of 400 (or 200, if we can't manage more) versts radius; using peat, water, combustible slate, coal, oil (*for example*, make a survey of the whole of Russia, giving *rough* approximations). Let's begin at once buying the necessary machines and models, you say. In 10 (20?) years we'll make Russia “electrical”.

I think you could produce such a “plan”—I repeat, not a technical one but a state one—a draft plan.

It must be provided right away, in a visual, popular form, for the masses, so as to carry them forward with a clear and vivid perspective (entirely *scientific* at its foundations): let's set to work, and in 10-20 years we shall make all Russia, both industrial and agricultural, *electrical*. We shall set ourselves the target of having *so many* (thousands or millions of horse-power or kilowatts?? devil knows what) mechanical slaves and so on.

Could there also be a *tentative* map of Russia with centres and their areas? Or is that not yet possible?

I repeat, we must carry away the *mass* of workers and politically-conscious peasants with a *great* programme for the next 10-20 years.

Let's have a talk on the telephone.

Yours,
Lenin

January 23

Written on January 23, 1920
First published in *Ekonomicheskaya*
Zhizn No. 18, January 22, 1925

Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 435

Preface to the Pamphlet *Old Articles on Almost New Subjects*

PREFACE TO THE 1922 EDITION

(Extract)

Just one more absolutely necessary remark in conclusion. I have deleted from this pamphlet the speech I delivered in closing the session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee in the spring of 1918. This speech was recorded in such a way as to render it absolutely useless. I must repeat what I once wrote to the Petrograd comrades in 1919, or 1920, in a letter intended for publication in the press, but which, unfortunately, they did not publish, viz., that I cannot accept responsibility for the reports of my speeches in the way they are usually printed in the press, and I earnestly request that they should not be reprinted—except in case of extreme necessity, and, in any case, together with my present definite statement. Whether it is due to the fact that I often speak too fast; whether in many cases my style of delivery is faulty, or whether the ordinary records of speeches are made too hurriedly and are very unsatisfactory—for all these reasons, and for certain others all taken together, the fact remains that I cannot accept responsibility for the text of my speeches as recorded, and request that they should not be reproduced. Let those who make these

records be responsible. If it is necessary to reprint anything, there are plenty of pamphlets and articles that can be reprinted, and for the text of which I take full and complete responsibility.

April 28, 1922

N. Lenin

Published in the pamphlet
Old Articles on Almost New Subjects,
Moscow, 1922

Collected Works, Vol. 33, pp. 346—347

Appendices

Journalistic Work of V. I. Lenin

OUTSTANDING DATES

1895

- Winter* While in St. Petersburg Lenin conducts political studies in workers' circles. He prepares a questionnaire for the study of the workers' labour and living conditions and for use by propagandists to collect material for agitation purposes.
- May* Lenin goes abroad to establish contact with the Emancipation of Labour group, and to familiarise himself with the West-European labour movement. After making the acquaintance of G. V. Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod and other members of the Emancipation of Labour group, Lenin arranges for regular contacts with them and for the publication abroad of the miscellany *Rabotnik*.
- September – October* Upon his return to Russia from abroad Lenin visits Vilno, Moscow and Orekhovo-Zuyevo where he establishes contact with members of local Social Democratic groups and gets their agreement to support the miscellany *Rabotnik* to be published abroad.
- Autumn* Lenin founds the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class in St. Petersburg. In his letter to P. B. Axelrod, written early in November, he informs the latter of the situation in the Social-Democratic groups in Vilno, Moscow and Orekhovo-Zuyevo, communicates him appropriate addresses and methods of illegal correspondence, and asks him to send Marxist literature. Lenin takes great interest in the preparations for the publication of the *Rabotnik* miscellany. Together with his letter Lenin sends abroad a series of items dealing with the working-class movement in Russia and to be published in *Rabotnik*.
- November – December* The St. Petersburg League of Struggle issues the leaflet written by Lenin and entitled "To the Working Men and Women of the Thornton Factory." At the end of November, the meeting of the members of the League of Struggle passes a decision to start the publication of the organisation's first clandestine organ, the newspaper *Rabocheye Dyelo*. While preparing the publication of the first issue of the paper, Lenin writes the leading article "To the Russian Workers", the articles "What Are Our Ministers Thinking About?", "The Yaroslavl Strike of 1895" and others, and edits the whole issue. On December 6 and 9 (18 and 20, new style), the meeting of the leading group of the League of Struggle, headed by Lenin, discusses the first issue of *Rabocheye Dyelo*, prepared for the press. But the organisa-

tion's organ fails to see the light of day. In the night of December, 8—9 (20—21) Lenin and his associates in the League of Struggle are arrested. The police seizes the materials for the first issue of *Rabocheye Dyelo*, then ready for the press.

1896—1898

While in prison and then in exile, Lenin maintains contact with the leading centres of the working-class movement in Russia and with the Emancipation of Labour group abroad. He corresponds with Social-Democrats in other places of exile or meets with many of them at the place to which he has been exiled. He writes a number of pamphlets, articles and leaflets.

1899

October—
November

Lenin accepts the proposal made by the C.C. of the Bund (the General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia) to edit *Rabochaya Gazeta*, which was recognised by the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. as the official organ of the Party, and later, a further proposal to contribute to the newspaper.

Lenin writes three articles for *Rabochaya Gazeta*: "Our programme", "Our Immediate Task" and "An Urgent Question", which substantiate the need for founding an All-Russia political newspaper, and works out the main outlines of the plan for its organisation. Lenin also sends his "Letter to the Editorial Board" where he specifies the terms of his co-operation with the newspaper.

1900

February

As his term of exile in Siberia ends, Lenin comes illegally to St. Petersburg. Here he meets V. I. Zasulich, who has come from abroad, and has talks with her on the participation of the Emancipation of Labour group in the publication of an All-Russia Marxist newspaper and a scientific-political journal abroad.

Spring—
Summer

Lenin establishes contact with Social-Democratic groups and individual Social-Democrats in various Russian towns and conducts negotiations and corresponds with them for their support for the future *Iskra*. He comes to an agreement with A. M. Stopani, I. I. Radchenko, Kh. Lalayants, P. N. Lepeshinsky, N. N. Lokhov, I. V. Babushkin and other Social-Democrats on the establishment of groups of support for *Iskra*. At the end of March Lenin draws up the draft declaration of the Editorial Board on the programme and the tasks of the All-Russian political newspaper (*Iskra*) and the scientific and political journal (*Zarya*).

The draft of a declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya* proposed by Lenin is discussed at a meeting of revolutionary Marxists with "legal Marxists" (the Pskov conference).

July 16 (22)

Lenin leaves for abroad.

August,
September,
October

Lenin stays in Zurich, meets with P. B. Axelrod and discusses with him the publication of *Iskra* and *Zarya*. During the talks Lenin had in Geneva with G. V. Plekhanov there arise differences of opinion in connection with Lenin's draft statement "In the name of the Editorial Board" and also the aspects of organising the Board's work. At Bellerive

(near Geneva) Lenin takes part in a conference with G. V. Plekhanov, A. N. Potresov, V. I. Zasulich, N. E. Bauman and Y. M. Steklov on the question of the programme of *Iskra* and *Zarya*.

Late in August Lenin writes the "Declaration of the Editorial Board". Between September 27 and October 5 (October 10 and 18, new style) this statement is published as a separate leaflet and is sent to Russia for distribution among Social-Democratic organisations and workers.

- November* Lenin conducts correspondence with local correspondents, edits articles, and notes, and prepares the first issue of *Iskra* for the press.
- End of December* The first issue of *Iskra* appears carrying Lenin's articles: "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement" (leading article), "The War in China", and "The Split in the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad."
- End of 1900 – beginning of 1901* Lenin carefully scrutinises every letter received by the *Iskra* Editorial Board. He prepares for publication materials dealing with the workers' conditions and the labour movement in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, in the Urals, in Krasnoyarsk, Ekaterinoslav, Odessa and Kiev, and with the student movement in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and Kharkov. Lenin also prepares a series of documents exposing the tsarist government's policies, including the Synod's secret document banning the holding of church service in the event of Leo Tolstoy's death.
- 1901**
- January – March* The groups supporting *Iskra* and its agents in Russia (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Pskov, Poltava, Samara, and in the South of the country) begin their work under Lenin's leadership. Lenin holds talks with the Social-Democrat L. I. Goldman of Poltava for the establishment of a clandestine printing-press for *Iskra* in Kishinev.
- March 10(23)* The first issue of *Zarya* appears carrying three of Lenin's articles "Beat—but Not to Death!" "Why Accelerate the Vicissitude of the Times?" and "Objective Statistics", united under one heading "Casual Notes."
- May 13–15 (26–28)* Lenin's "Where To Begin" is published in *Iskra*, No. 4; in this article Lenin outlines a concrete plan for the building of a revolutionary party of the working class and gives substance to the public functions of the working-class press. The main propositions of this article were later developed in his book *What Is To Be Done?*
- May – June* While directing *Iskra*, Lenin deals with the transportation of this paper and other illegal literature to Russia. He holds talks with the *Iskra* group in Baku for reprinting *Iskra* in the local underground print-shop organised by V. Z. Ketskhoveri. In his letter to L. Y. Galperin who lives in Baku, Lenin informs him of the transportation of *Iskra* issues via Vienna to Iran; he inquires about the plan for reprinting *Iskra* in the Caucasus. Lenin underscores the importance of collecting funds for the publication of this all-Russian political newspaper and of searches for new means of its transportation from abroad. In his letters to *Iskra* agents Lenin recommends that the *Iskra* underground press in Kishinev should increase the number of materials reprinted from the paper's separate issues.

December 21
(January 2,
1902)

Lenin receives the first copy of *Iskra*, No. 10, printed at the *Iskra* underground press in Kishinev.

1902

January—
August

Between January and March Lenin lives in Munich, and later in London. He guides the work of the *Iskra* Editorial Board. He writes the draft programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. In August he holds a conference with representatives of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., the Russian organisation of *Iskra*, and the Northern League of the R.S.D.L.P. and forms the *Iskra*-ist nucleus of the Organising Committee for the convocation of the Second Congress of the Party.

Lenin seeks to strengthen in every way his ties with Social-Democratic organisations in Russia. He writes a letter to the editors of *Yuzhny Rabochy* in Kharkov, approves their decision to co-operate with *Iskra*, and takes interest in their immediate practical plans and gives his address for holding correspondence. Lenin sends a letter to the Moscow Party Committee concerning its statement of solidarity with the views expounded in the book *What Is To Be Done?*

SEPTEMBER 1902—1903

Lenin continues to discharge his functions of actual editor-in-chief of *Iskra*. He scans articles, prepares for publication letters from various cities of Russia—Moscow, St. Petersburg, Rostov, Odessa, Kharkov, Ufa, Poltava, Tomsk, Kherson, Perm and others—dealing with the workers' conditions, the labour and student movements and international developments. He reviews them, gives his remarks and makes notes.

In his letter to the editors of *Yuzhny Rabochy* he pinpoints the need to unite local committees in a single All-Russia organisation and to centre their attention on the publication of *Iskra*. He informs the editors of the measures taken to unite the Social-Democratic organisations of the South of Russia with the Russian organisation of *Iskra*.

In conversations with I. V. Babushkin, who arrives from Russia in September 1902, Lenin outlines the immediate tasks of the *Iskra*-ist organisations in Russia and asks Babushkin to write his reminiscences about his revolutionary activities.

July 17(30)—
August 10(23),
1903

Lenin takes part in the work of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

November 5(18)

Lenin submits to G. V. Plekhanov, one of the editors of *Iskra*, his statement to the effect that he leaves the papers's Editorial Board as of December 1 (new style), 1903.

Between
November 25
and 29
(December 8
and 12)

Lenin writes an open letter "Why I Resigned from the *Iskra* Editorial Board", for beginning with November 1903 (with issue No. 52) the newspaper became the organ of the Mensheviks. Since the Editorial Board refuses to publish this letter, it is issued in leaflet form in December, 1903.

1904

Between
January 20
and 25
(February 2
and 7)

In a letter to C.C. member G. M. Krzhizhanovsky Lenin warns of the danger of the Mensheviks usurping the Central Committee and insists that local Party committees should launch a determined struggle against the splitting activities of the Menshevik central organ.

End of July

Under Lenin's leadership, a conference of 22 Bolsheviks is held in Switzerland; it adopts the appeal "To the Party", written by Lenin, which becomes the Bolsheviks' programme of struggle for the convening of the Third Party Congress.

August 19
(September 1)

A Social-Democratic Party Literature Publishing House starts operating in Geneva under Lenin's guidance.

November—
December

Lenin directs a meeting of Bolsheviks which decides on the publication of an organ of the Party majority — the newspaper *Vperyod*.

Lenin writes "A Letter to the Comrades (with Reference to the Forthcoming Publication of the Organ of the Party Majority)". He energetically prepares the appearance of *Vperyod* by drafting its contents, writes articles and notes, and edits other materials.

Lenin satisfies the request of the Caucasus League Committee to contribute to the newspaper *Proletariatis Brdzola* (The Struggle of the Proletariat), the organ of the Caucasian League of the R.S.D.L.P., edited by J. V. Stalin, A. G. Tsulukidze and S. G. Shaumyan. On December 22 (January 4, 1905) issue No. 1 of the newspaper *Vperyod*, edited by Lenin, appears in Geneva. The issue carries his articles: "The Autocracy and the Proletariat" (editorial), "Good Demonstrations of Proletarians and Poor Arguments of Certain Intellectuals," "Time to Call a Halt!", and others.

1905

January

Lenin addresses, through M. N. Lyadov, A. M. Gorky, with the request that he should aid the Party materially and take part in its press.

On January 18 (31) *Vperyod* No. 4, publishes a series of Lenin's articles under the general title "Revolutionary Days": "The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia" (editorial), "What is Happening in Russia," "The First Steps", "Father Gapon", "The Eve of Bloody Sunday", "Bloody Sunday", "The Number of Killed or Wounded," "Some Episodes of Slaughter. Near Troitsky Bridge", "On the Palace Square", "The Plan of the St. Petersburg Battle", "Anger At Troops", "'Our Father the Tsar' and the Barricades".

February—
March

In a letter to S. I. Gusev in St. Petersburg Lenin urges that contacts be strengthened and extended between the Editorial Board of *Vperyod* and the workers' study circles, and especially with youth.

On February 15 (28), Lenin's article "The Convening of the Third Party Congress" (editorial) is published in *Vperyod*, No. 8. It urges all Party members to take an active part in drafting Congress reports and resolutions.

On March 30 (April 12), Lenin's article "The Revolutionary-Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry" is published in *Vperyod* No. 14. Subsequently the article was also issued

in pamphlet form by the Caucasian League Committee in Russian, Georgian, and Armenian.

April 12—27
(April 25—
May 10)

Lenin directs the work of the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

On April 27 (May 10), the first meeting of the Central Committee elected by the Congress appoints Lenin Editor-in-Chief of the Party's central organ, *Proletary*, and representative of the C.C. abroad.

On May 7(20) Lenin participates in a meeting of members of the staff of the Party's central organ, *Proletary*, at which the Editorial Board's plan of work is discussed.

May 14(27)

Issue No. 1 of the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary*, edited by Lenin, makes its appearance, containing his articles: "Report on the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" (editorial), "The Third Congress", the editorial note to the Congress resolution "On the Constitution of the Congress" and also the principal Congress resolutions most of which were drafted by Lenin.

May 20
(June 2)

Lenin writes a letter to the International Socialist Bureau concerning the Third Congress of the Party and its decision to consider the newspaper *Proletary* the central organ of the R.S.D.L.P.

June

On June 20 (July 3), *Proletary* No. 6, publishes Lenin's article "A Third Step Back", and on June 27 (July 10), its issue No. 7 carries his other articles: "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government" (editorial), "The Bourgeoisie Bargains with the Autocracy, the Autocracy Bargains with the Bourgeoisie," and "The Latest News".

Lenin writes the "Draft Leaflet" in which he tells about the revolutionary developments in the Caucasus, in Poland, in Odessa and other cities and emphasises the need for setting up a revolutionary army and a revolutionary government, and for advancing by the latter the appropriate slogans and aims.

July—
October

Lenin resides in Geneva. He directs the activities of the Party Central Committee and central organ, *Proletary*, works for uniting the Party ranks and for the implementation of the Third Party Congress decisions. and combats the splitting actions of Mensheviks.

In September, in his letter to P. A. Krasikov in St. Petersburg, Lenin pinpoints the need for consolidating R.S.D.L.P. local committees and for shifting the main emphasis on local work. He advises the establishment of closer relations between the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and the *Proletary* Editorial Board, gives a high appraisal of the first issue of the illegal popular newspaper *Rabochy* and the leaflets issued by the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in Russia. Lenin recommends the extension of the publication of leaflets and the organisation of agitation on a more sound basis.

On September 2 (15), Lenin sends a letter to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., congratulating it with the successful issue of the illegal popular newspaper *Rabochy*. He resolutely insists on the need to establish a close contact between the Central Committee and the central organ. Lenin holds that the Central Committee should inform the *Proletary* Editorial Board in time about major political issues. He explains the Party task of carrying on the active boycott of the

Bulygin Duma and urges the C.C. to start preparations for the convocation of the Fourth Party Congress.

In two letters addressed to the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. and dated September 20 (October 3), Lenin writes about his receipt of the leaflet (No. 2) of June 24, 1905. He stresses the importance of political literature in giving leadership to Party work and recommends the C.C. members to issue a C.C. bulletin twice a week.

Beginning of November

Lenin leaves Geneva for Russia soon after he sends to the press the issue No. 24 of *Proletary*.

November 8 (21)

Lenin arrives in St. Petersburg. Next day he leads a meeting of the Bolshevik section of the Editorial Board of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*. The meeting attended by Party activists as well, determines the composition of the Editorial Board and elaborates the programme of the newspaper for the immediate future.

November 9 (22) — December 3 (16)

Lenin edits the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (issues Nos 9—28). The newspaper No. 9 publishes the first of a series of articles "The Reorganisation of the Party", to be followed by other articles: "The Proletariat and the Peasantry", "Party Organisation and Party Literature", "The Armed Forces and the Revolution", "The Scales are Wavering", "The Dying Autocracy and New Organs of Popular Rule", "Socialism and Religion", and others.

On November 27 (December 10), Lenin attends a meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., which discusses questions relating to the preparation of an armed uprising, changes in the Editorial Board of *Novaya Zhizn* and the publication of the Bolshevik newspaper *Borba* in Moscow. Lenin meets A. M. Gorky on this occasion.

On December 3 (16), Lenin attends an urgent joint conference of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., the St. Petersburg Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, called in view of the closing of *Novaya Zhizn*.

1906

February — March

Lenin edits the newspaper *Partiinye Izvestia* (issues No. 1 and 2).

April

Lenin arrives in Stockholm and takes an active part in the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

May — July, up to July, 7 (20)

Lenin lives in St. Petersburg and edits the legal Bolshevik newspapers *Volna*, *Vperyod* and *Ekho*.

Between August 6 and 21 (August 19 — September 3)

During his stay in Vyborg Lenin guides the work of preparing and issuing No. 1 of the newspaper *Proletary*. It sees the light of day on August 21, 1906. The issue carries the following articles by Lenin: "Before the Storm" (leading article), "The Boycott", "The Political Crisis and the Bankruptcy of Opportunist Tactics", "The Events of the Day" and "A Labour Congress".

September 1906 — February 1907

Lenin lives in Kuokkala (Finland) at his summer residence "Vasa" and directs the work of Bolsheviks. He is visited by editors of Bolshevik publications, by representatives of the St. Petersburg and other committees of the R.S.D.L.P.

Lenin edits the illegal Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary*, scans and prepares for the press articles and letters received from different localities in Russia. He guides the work of the illegal workers' paper *Vperyod* (issued by the newspaper *Proletary*).

Lenin's articles "A New Coup d'Etat in Preparation" (leading article), "Guerrilla Warfare", "An Attempt at a Classification of the Political Parties of Russia" and "The Question of Guerrilla Warfare" are published in *Proletary*, No. 5, on September 30 (October 13).

End of
November —
— beginning of
December, 1906

Lenin edits the issue No. 1 of *Zheleznodorozhnik*, the organ of the Railway Party Bureau of Moscow junction (printed in Finland in the print-shop of *Proletary*). In December Lenin is visited by L. G. Khanin, a member of the Moscow Railway Party District Committee, who brings materials for the second issue of *Zheleznodorozhnik*.

December 24,
1906 (January
6, 1907)

Lenin's article "The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Working Class" is published as a leading article in No. 1 of the Bolshevik weekly *Ternii Truda*

December 28
(January 10,
1907)

At the request of Samara Bolsheviks Lenin writes the article "The Working-Class Party's Tasks and the Peasantry" and sends it from St. Petersburg to the Editorial Board of the newspaper *Samarskaya Luka* in Samara.

December 31
(January 13,
1907)

Lenin's article "The Attitude of the Bourgeois Parties and of the Workers' Party to the Duma Elections" is published as a leading article in No. 2 of the weekly *Ternii Truda*.

1907

January

The issue No. 1 of the Bolshevik weekly *Prostye Rechi* (January 14) carries Lenin's leading article "The Workers' Party Election. Campaign in St. Petersburg". Lenin's article "The Social-Democratic Election Campaign in St. Petersburg" is published in *Prostye Rechi*, No. 2, January 21, while his articles "The Elections in the Worker Curia in St. Petersburg" and "The Struggle Between Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries in the Elections" are published in the issue No. 3, January 30.

Lenin's article "How To Vote in the St. Petersburg Elections (Is There a Danger of the Black Hundreds Winning the St. Petersburg Elections?)" is printed in the Bolshevik legal weekly *Zreniye*, No. 1, January 25.

February

Lenin's articles "How To Vote in the St. Petersburg Elections (Who Benefits from the Fables About the Black-Hundred Danger?)", "The Moscow Elections—Preliminary Results", and "A Political Lidvaliad" are published in *Zreniye*, No. 2, February 4 (17).

The Bolshevik newspaper *Trud* carries Lenin's article about the talks between Constitutional Democrats and Stolypin.

On February 20 (March 5) Lenin writes his article "The Opening of the Second State Duma". It is published as the leading article in the legal Bolshevik political and literary daily *Novy Luch* (St. Petersburg), No. 1

Second half of
February —
— April

Lenin edits the Bolshevik newspapers *Novy Luch*, *Proletariat*, *Nashe Ekho* and directs the work of the workers' paper *Vperyod*.

April 30—
May 19
(May 13—
June 1)

Lenin plays a leading part in the work of the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

August

Lenin is elected by the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. Editor-in-Chief of the central Party organ, the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat*. In August-September he writes two articles entitled "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart". One of them is intended for the Bolshevik publication *Kalendar dlya vsekh*, 1908 and the other for the *Proletary*, whose publication is resumed in October 1907, after one and a half years' interval.

September

Lenin is elected by the Central Committee, R.S.D.L.P. to the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* and its management committee. The post of Editor-in-Chief of the central organ is abolished at this C.C. meeting.

November

Lenin participates in the meeting of the Bolshevik centre, which passes a decision to move abroad the publication of *Proletary*.

1908

January—
February

Lenin is engaged in the work of preparing *Proletary* for publication in Geneva. He writes letters to A.M. Gorky and M.F. Andreyeva and requests them to help the dispatch of *Proletary* to Russia via Italy. He asks Gorky to send articles or excerpts from his latest works of fiction for *Proletary*. In one of his letters to Gorky, dated January 25 (February 7), Lenin informs him about a plan to start new Bolshevik publications and favours the establishment of a "properly-oriented political organ". He expresses his wish to the effect that Gorky will contribute to the newspaper's literary criticism column in order to "link up literary criticism with Party work, with Party leadership".

March—
December

Lenin lives in Geneva and edits the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary*. At the end of the year he goes to Paris, where *Proletary* is now moved to.

1909

January—May

Lenin organises the publication of the Party central organ, the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* and edits it. Lenin continues to direct the work of *Proletary*.

June

Lenin presides at the conference of the extended Editorial Board of *Proletary*, opened in Paris on June 8(21). He takes part in the discussion, moves amendments to the resolutions and submits draft resolutions on particular questions. On the eve of this conference he held a private meeting of members of the Editorial Board of *Proletary* with representatives from local Social-Democratic organisations, in which he reported on the state of affairs in the Party and its group in the State Duma. The propositions of Lenin's are made the basis of the decisions adopted by the extended Editorial Board of *Proletary*.

October

Lenin takes part in the International Conference of Socialist Journalists in Brussels. He informs the Conference of the organisation of socialist journalists in Russia.

1910

January—
February

Lenin takes part in the work of the plenary meeting of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. in Paris; he moves a draft resolution "The State of Affairs in the Party" condemning liquidationism and otzovism. Lenin is elected by the plenary meeting to the Editorial Board of the central organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, and as a representative of the R.S.D.L.P. in the International Socialist Bureau.

At the end of January he speaks at a meeting of the Editorial Board of the central organ against the publication in *Sotsial-Demokrat* of Y.O. Martov's liquidationist article "On the Right Path".

March

Lenin signs the draft agreement on the participation of the Bolshevik organ *Proletary* in the publication of the newspaper *Zvezda*. The issue No. 1 of *Diskussionny Listok* comes off the press on March 6(19), the resolution on its publication being considered by the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* in February. The first part of Lenin's work "Notes of a Publicist, I. The Platform of the Adherents and Defenders of Otzovism", is published in No. 1 of *Diskussionny Listok*.

July

Lenin's article "The Jubilee Number of *Zihna*" is published in No. 100 of the newspaper *Zihna* (*Struggle*), the organ of the Social-Democrats of Latvia.

September—
November

Lenin conducts negotiations with I.I. Skvortsov-Stepanov on organising the publication in Moscow of the legal Bolshevik magazine *Mysl*. The magazine is to appear in December, 1910.

At a meeting of the Editorial Board of *Sotsial-Demokrat* held on October 25 (November 7) Lenin insists on the publication of the D. Blagoyev's article directed against Trotsky in the Party central organ.

On October 26 (November 8) Lenin writes a letter to V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich in which he informs the latter of the news about the preparation of a new legal Bolshevik organ, the newspaper *Zvezda*. Lenin insists on the publication in *Zvezda* of all materials to be sent from abroad. He asks Bonch-Bruyevich to send him more frequently detailed information about the preparations for the publication of *Zvezda*. It appears in St. Petersburg in December, 1910.

October 30 (November 12) sees the publication of the first issue of *Rabochaya Gazeta*. Prior to this date Lenin wrote the article "Announcement on the Publication of *Rabochaya Gazeta*". Lenin's article "The Lessons of the Revolution" is published as a leading article in No. 1 of *Rabochaya Gazeta*.

1911—1912

In July 1911, Lenin takes a series of measures to start the publication of the legal Bolshevik magazine *Prosveshcheniye*. In December of the same year, the issue No. 1 appears with articles by Lenin "Fundamental Problems of the Election Campaign" (beginning of the article, the last instalment being published in January 1912), "First Exposures of Cadet Negotiations with the Cabinet", and "Three Questions".

Between December 1911 and June 1912 Lenin lives in Paris, while in June he moves to Cracow. In December, he directs the preparations for the Sixth Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. It is held in Prague in January 1912. He plays a leading role at this Conference, edits *Sotsial-*

-*Demokrat*, the Party central organ. Later he organises the publication of the legal Bolshevik paper *Pravda* and guides its work, directs the activities of Party branches in Russia and the election campaign for the Fourth State Duma.

On April 22 (May 5), 1912, the first issue of *Pravda*, a workers' legal daily, is published.

In a letter to the Editorial Board of *Nevskaya Zvezda*, written in July, Lenin criticises the activities of the editorial boards of *Pravda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda*, reveals their shortcomings and pinpoints the necessity of acute polemics against the liquidators. He suggests the holding of some conferences with the participation of the members of these editorial boards and regular contributors.

On July 20 (August 2) Lenin writes to *Pravda*, pointing out the necessity for "launching polemics" against the Cadet press before the elections to the Fourth Duma. He emphasises that the election campaign is started in St. Petersburg with a large measure of success and that *Pravda* and *Zvezda* have a lead in this campaign.

On August 26 (September 8) Lenin, in his letter to the *Pravda* Editorial Board, asks for the lacking issues of the papers *Zvezda*, *Nevskaya Zvezda* and *Pravda*, and recommends that monthly statistics about the *Pravda* circulation and distribution should be regularly published.

Towards the end of September Lenin writes a letter to the editorial boards of *Pravda* and *Nevskaya Zvezda*, in which he insists that the leading organ of workers' democracy should pursue a firm and consistent policy in the struggle against opportunists and explain to the workers the essence of the anti-Marxist line of liquidators and prevent any breach of the collegial principle in editorial work.

1913

January

Lenin leads the Cracow meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. and Party functionaries. He makes the reports on the revolutionary upswing, the strikes and Party tasks, the attitude to liquidationism and the issue of unity. He drafts and edits the meeting's resolutions "The Revolutionary Upswing, the Strikes and the Tasks of the Party", "Illegal Literature", "Reorganisation and the Work of the *Pravda* Editorial Board", and others.

February

Lenin writes a letter to *Pravda* congratulating its Editorial Board on the improved quality of the newspaper, and pointing out the need to bring out a special issue dedicated to the thirtieth anniversary of Karl Marx's death.

In mid-February Lenin presides at the meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., which discusses the further prospects for the *Pravda* Editorial Board, the activity of the magazine *Prosveshcheniye* and the need to publish a series of Social-Democratic pamphlets by *Pravda*.

May

The special issue of *Pravda* (No. 92, May 6), devoted to the newspaper's first anniversary, carries Lenin's articles "A Few Words on Results and Facts" and "The *Pravda* Anniversary (Workers' Support for the Workers' Paper)".

In his letter to *Pravda* editors Lenin congratulates the staff on improvements in the paper and gives practical advice on how "to obtain hundred-thousand circulation".

June While congratulating the *Pravda* Editorial Board with the issue of it in an extended format, Lenin recommends the enlargement of the papers's circulation and the publication of popular sunday supplements, criticises the Board for the mistakes committed and demands their correction.

On June 12 (25), Lenin sends his letter to the Paris section of Bolsheviks and requests them to assist in the publication of illegal Party literature and *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the Party central organ.

August Lenin guides the conference in Poronin of members of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., which discusses the situation in the Party and its current tasks, the State Duma Social-Democratic group, the Party school and the Party press, in particular the question of publishing a Bolshevik newspaper in Moscow, the papers *Pravda* and *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the magazine *Prosveshcheniye* and the Priboi Publishers.

September Lenin instructs a representative of the Priboi Publishers on arranging the publication of legal Party literature and a journal dealing with insurance; he also confers with a representative of *Prosveshcheniye* on the further work of that journal.

October In a number of letters addressed to the Editorial Board of the paper *Za Pravdu*, Lenin advises on how to "publish the newspaper on a more legal basis". He recommends that contributions to the newspaper fund should be publicised and takes interest in its printing and the number of subscribers to it.

December At the end of the month Lenin sends a letter to I. F. Armand, in which he draws her attention to the need to apply new forms of Party work among the masses. He suggests that Armand take up more energetically the publication of the magazine *Rabotnitsa* intended for women.

1914

February Lenin draws up the plan for the symposium *Marxism and Liquidationism*, and writes the preface to it.

March Lenin declines an invitation from the editors of *Sovremennik* to contribute to their journal on the grounds that he does not agree with their programme.

April Lenin sends the editors of *Put Pravdy* his article "Our Tasks" designed for the first issue of the paper *Rabochy* dealing with the history of the working-class press in Russia. On April 22 (May 5), the newspaper *Put Pravdy* carries the telegram "From Contributors", signed by V. Ilyin (Lenin's pseudonym). While hailing the paper on its biennial anniversary and wishing the workers' press further success, Lenin places at the disposal of the paper his daily earnings.

May In a letter to I. Rudis-Gipslis Lenin favours the publication of a Lettish supplement to *Pravda* and asks him to send translations of articles from Lettish Social-Democratic newspapers.

June

Lenin makes calculations of the number of workers' groups and the sums of money collections for the Bolshevik and liquidationist papers, received by the Bolshevik and Menshevik groups in the State Duma between October 1913 and June 6, 1914. Lenin computes the percentage of money contributions by workers' groups for *Pravda*.

Lenin sends a letter to the Russian Bureau of the Party Central Committee and requests that it should collect and dispatch to him the data on the Bolshevik and liquidationist newspapers published since 1911 in the Caucasus.

August

Lenin, who stays in the village of Poronin (Austro-Hungary), learns about the war Germany has declared on Russia. Together with his wife he goes to Switzerland, a neutral country, and arrives in Berne.

October

In a letter to V. A. Karpinsky Lenin writes about "good news" coming from Russia, about the decision to resume the publication of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the central organ of the R.S.D.L.P., and to print in its issue No. 33 the manifesto on the Bolshevik attitude to the war. He instructs V. A. Karpinsky to organise the printing of *Sotsial-Demokrat* in Geneva.

In his reply to A. G. Shlyapnikov's letter Lenin expresses his gratitude for the information about developments in Russia, which was received by the central organ. He cites a number of considerations about the smuggling of "letters, people and literature" to Russia via Stockholm.

On October 19 (November 1), after one year's interval, publication of *Sotsial-Demokrat* is resumed under Lenin's editorship. No. 33 of the newspaper carries the manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" and the article "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International", written by Lenin.

December

In a letter to V. A. Karpinsky Lenin asks him to consider the question of the publication of *Sotsial-Demokrat* once a week.

1915—FEBRUARY 1917

Lenin lives in Switzerland (Berne, Zurich and the mountain village of Sorenberg near Berne). He corresponds with Party organisations in Russia and with some Bolsheviks, guiding their work. He edits the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* and participates in the preparations for the publication of the magazines *Kommunist* and *Vorbote*, the organ of the Zimmerwald Left.

Lenin corresponds with V. A. Karpinsky and S. N. Ravich on the issue of *Sotsial-Demokrat*. He writes to G. Y. Zinovyev about the preparations for the Zimmerwald Socialist Conference, the editing of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, *Kommunist* and about other questions.

Lenin corresponds with A. G. Shlyapnikov, the Stockholm representative of the Central Committee and the Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., on Party work in Russia.

January 1915

Lenin sends A. G. Shlyapnikov leaflets for smuggling them to Russia. In April he discusses, by correspondence with Y. Bogrovsky and Y. S. Hanecki, the possibility of moving the *Sotsial-Demokrat* Editorial Board to Stockholm.

Lenin's article "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" is published in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 44 (August 10, 1915)

May —
September 1915

Lenin directs the preparations for the publication of the magazine *Kommunist*. He writes and edits articles for the magazine. *Kommunist*, No. 1—2 carries his articles "The Collapse of the Second International", "The Voice of an Honest French Socialist" and "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy (A Note)."

In March 1916, in a letter to A. G. Shlyapnikov, Lenin insists on the need to stop publication of *Kommunist* in view of the anti-Party position of the Bukharin-Pyatakov group and E. Bosch in the national question. He suggests that this magazine be replaced by another magazine, *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*.

A few days later Lenin informs G. Pyatakov, E. Bosch and N. Bukharin of the impossibility of his cooperation with them on the magazine *Kommunist* in view of their departure from Party positions. Early in May Lenin finally breaks with the *Kommunist* Editorial Board.

October 1916

Publication of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata* No. 1 with the theses of Lenin's article "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" and his article "The Junius Pamphlet" and "The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up."

February 1917

Lenin shares in editing *Bulletin* No. 1 issued by a group of Zimmerwald Lefts in Switzerland. In a letter to Inessa Armand he draws her attention to the news he received from Moscow about the growth of revolutionary sentiment in Russia and to the leaflets recently issued by the Moscow Party Bureau. He admits that for some time past he devoted much of his time to the study of what attitude Marxism should adopt to the state, and that he "collected much material and arrived at . . . very interesting conclusions".

MARCH—OCTOBER 1917

While staying in Zurich, Lenin receives the first news about the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia and takes measures to speed up his return to the homeland.

April 3 (16)

Late in the evening Lenin arrives in Petrograd. On the square facing the Finlandsky Terminal Lenin makes a speech from an armoured car, in which he greets the Russian revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary army and calls upon them to fight for the socialist revolution.

The next day Lenin takes up the duties of a *Pravda* editor, the central organ of the Bolshevik Party, and *Pravda* No. 25 (April 6) publishes a note to this effect. On April 7, Lenin's article "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" containing the famous April Theses is published in *Pravda*.

In April, at a meeting of Bolsheviks, Lenin makes a report on the current situation and outlines the direction of the work of the *Pravda* Editorial Board. In the *Pravda* office he receives leaders of the Central Committee of the Printers' Union and discusses with them the questions involved in the timely issue of *Pravda* and Party work in this Union.

In May—July, Lenin, who lives in Petrograd, guides the work of the Central Committee of the Party and its central organ, the newspaper *Pravda*. In July—October, Lenin lives illegally (in Petrograd, the station of Razliv, Finland and again in Petrograd). He maintains close contacts with the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) and guides its activity. He continues to contribute to Bolshevik newspapers. They carry his leading political articles and notes. Lenin conducts a large-scale theoretical work and simultaneously directs the preparations for an armed uprising in Petrograd.

In September, Lenin sends a letter to the Party Central Committee which later became known as “Marxism and Insurrection” and writes another letter to the Central Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) on the need to assume state power. Lenin’s article “How to Guarantee the Success of the Constituent Assembly. On Freedom of the Press” is published in *Rabochy Put* No. 11.

October 24
(November 6)

Lenin writes the “Letter to Central Committee Members” demanding an immediate armed uprising. He points out that “to delay action is fatal”. He suggests that the Provisional Government be arrested and power seized by the working class.

On the night of October 24 Lenin secretly arrives in Smolny and takes over the general practical direction of the armed uprising of the Petrograd workers, soldiers and sailors.

November 7
(October 25,
old style)

At 10 a.m. Lenin, on behalf of the Revolutionary Military Committee, writes the appeal “To the Citizens of Russia!”, announcing the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the transfer of power into the hands of the Revolutionary Military Committee.

November 8
and night of
November 9

Lenin takes part in the proceedings of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies, and gives reports on peace and on land. The Congress adopts Lenin’s Decree on Peace, Decree on Land, and the Resolution forming the Workers’ and Peasants’ Government; it approves the composition of the Council of People’s Commissars headed by Lenin.

November 9

Lenin presides at a Government meeting, which approves in principle his Draft Regulations on Workers’ Control and adopts the Decree on the Press.

November 17

Lenin writes the “Draft Resolution on Freedom of the Press” and attends a meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee to take part in the discussion of the question of the press.

Night of
November 21

Lenin arrives at the Novaya Gollandia radio station and writes his “Wireless Message” to all regimental, divisional, corps, army and other committees, to all soldiers of the revolutionary army and sailors of the revolutionary navy.

1918

January 28

Lenin presides at a Government meeting to discuss a Revolutionary Press Tribunal, etc.

February 22

Pravda carries the Government’s Decree: The Socialist Fatherland is in Danger!, written by Lenin in connection with the German troops’ offensive against Soviet Russia.

MARCH—DECEMBER 1918

- March 6—8** Lenin directs the work of the Seventh Congress of Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). He delivers the Central Committee's political report and a report on revision of the Party Programme and changing the name of the Party. He participates in the discussion of all points on the Congress agenda.
On March 10—11, Lenin and other members of the Soviet Government move from Petrograd to Moscow.
- March 15** Lenin attends a C.C. meeting to discuss the transfer of *Pravda*, the Party central organ, to Moscow and the composition of its Editorial Board, etc.
At the end of March he conducts negotiations with a group of prisoners of war concerning the setting up of a Hungarian group of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the publication of its paper *Social Revolution*.
- March 2—April 4** Lenin attends C.C. meetings to discuss the publication of the evening newspapers *Vechernaya Bednota* and *Vechernaya Pravda*, the work of *Pravda*, and to approve the setting up of the Chief Publishing Department of the Party Central Committee, etc.
- May 30** Lenin talks with the representatives of the Yelets Uyezd Soviet and writes a letter to the Editorial Board of *Izvestia VTsIK*, requesting that it should publish his interview regarding law and order in the country, the suppression of the bourgeoisie, and the reorganisation of advanced farming estates.
- July 12 and 19** Lenin presides at Government's sittings to discuss the questions of the bourgeois press in Soviet Russia and the state of affairs in the Moscow printing industry, the draft Decree on the Centralisation of Radio Work in the Soviet Republic, etc.
- August 16** Lenin attends a meeting of the Moscow Party Committee and speaks about the press and the circulation of *Pravda* and *Izvestia VTsIK*.
- August 30** Lenin speaks on the subject "Two Governments (The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie)" at a meeting at the former Michelson Works in Zamoskvorechye District. As Lenin leaves the works he is shot by Fanny Kaplan, a Socialist-Revolutionary.
- September 16** For the first time after his illness Lenin takes part in a meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).
- September 18** Lenin receives M. I. Sanayev, chairman of the Sergachov Uyezd Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), Nizhni Novgorod Gubernia, and talks with him about the situation in the countryside and gives him his letter addressed to *Pravda* with the request that it should publish his communication.
- December 7** Lenin conducts a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars. He tables a proposal to appoint a special correspondent to report the Council's activities in the press.
- Late 1918 or early 1919** Lenin reads Alexander Todorsky's book *A Year with Rifle and Plough*. Drawing on the book's materials, he writes an article entitled "A Little Picture in Illustration of Big Problems".

1919

- March 2-6* Lenin takes a leading part in the work of the First Congress of the Communist International.
- March 18-23* Lenin guides the work of the Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). He delivers the opening and concluding speeches at the Congress, the report of the Central Committee and the reports on the Party Programme and the Party's work in the countryside, and on the war situation.
- March 22* Lenin receives wireless messages from Budapest about the revolution in Hungary and informs the Congress Presidium about these developments. After this communication is read at its seventh session the Congress instructs Lenin to wireless a message to the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Lenin phones his telegram of greetings for the Moscow radio station and later writes another telegram to the Hungarian Soviet Government on behalf of the Eighth Party Congress. He issues a directive to the effect that continuous communications should be maintained with Budapest by radio.
- In March, Lenin talks to L. S. Sosnovsky, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Bednota*, and to other editors of the central newspapers and highlights the tasks of the press regarding the Party's attitude to the middle peasantry.
- April 30* During the discussion of the setting up of a newspaper publishing house Lenin makes notes on the measures to be taken to organise the circulation of the periodical press.
- May 2* Lenin talks to P. M. Kerzhentsev, the responsible manager of ROSTA, on the need to enlist the efforts of writers and journalists for the work in the Soviet press and to improve the C.C. guidance of ROSTA.
- May 17* Lenin presides at a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars, speaks on the subjects under discussion and signs the Draft Regulations for the State Publishing House.
- June 27* Before his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya leaves for Nizhni Novgorod with a group of agitators and instructors to tour the Volga and the Kama Rivers on the "Krasnaya Zvezda" (Red Star) boat sent by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee for agitation purposes, Lenin makes a number of proposals concerning the organisation of the work of this team of agitators.
- June 28* Lenin completes his pamphlet *A Great Beginning (Heroism of the Workers in the Rear. "Communist Subbotniks")*.
- October 24* In his letter to V. V. Vorovsky, the manager of the State Publishing House, Lenin imposes a severe reprimand on him for the disgraceful publication of the pamphlet "Third International, March 6-7, 1919."
- November 27* Lenin instructs the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the National Economy to discuss the question of printing in the newspaper *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* (Economic Life) periodical reports on the development of the main branches of the economy.
- December 18* The newspaper *Smena* (The Younger Generation) prints Lenin's message of greeting sent to the youth of Petrograd Gubernia.

Towards the end of December, at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the C.C. R.C.P.(B.) Lenin writes a note "Stop Spoiling the Russian Language (Some Thoughts at Leisure, i.e., while Listening to Speeches at Meetings)."

1920

- January 9* Lenin chairs at a session of the Council of Defence which discusses, among other things, the question of building a radio station in Omsk.
- January 15* In a note to M. N. Pokrovsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Education, proposes that he should instruct state libraries to collect all whiteguard newspapers and to verify whether there are complete sets of Soviet newspapers since 1917.
- February 5* Lenin writes his letter to M. A. Bonch-Bruyevich, the chief of the Nizhni-Novgorod radio laboratory, in which he expresses his deep gratitude and sympathy for the great work of radio inventions he carries on. Lenin promises to assist him in every possible way in the matter of bringing into being the newspaper "without paper" and "without distances".
- March 22* Lenin receives the representatives of the Central Bureau of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East S. Said-Galiev, the chairman, M. Sultan-Galiev, the deputy chairman, and B. Mansurov, the editor of the Bureau central organ, the newspaper *Esheh*, talks with them about the formation of an autonomous Tatar Republic, the state of affairs in the printing industry of Kazan, the Tatar literature, the way of life of Tatars and their relations with Russians.
- March 29—April 5* Lenin guides the work of the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). He makes the opening speech, delivers a report on the political activities of the Central Committee of the Party and closes the discussion on the C.C. report. He also speaks on national economic development, on the co-operative movement and delivers a speech closing the Congress. He makes a short speech on the list of candidates for membership of the Central Committee.
- April 5* As the Ninth Congress is over, its delegates congratulate Lenin on his forthcoming fiftieth birthday. It is decided to issue Lenin's *Collected Works*.
- May 2* Lenin's article "From the First Subbotnik on the Moscow-Kazan Railway to the All-Russia May Day Subbotnik" is published in the handbill *Pervomaisky Subbotnik*, which was drawn up, set and printed during the May Day subbotnik by the staff of several newspapers and a printing house.
- June 4* Lenin talks with Kirghizian workers and writes a note to V. V. Vorovsky, the manager the State Publishing House, and the Supreme Council of the National Economy, asking that comrades from Kirghizia be provided with a type-foundry, a printing press and stocks of paper.
- August 17* Lenin talks with John Reed who asks for the assistance to be given to Luis Frein, and American communist publicist, to get acquainted with Russian literature.

Lenin writes notes to Government secretaries asking them to see to it that translators should be found for Luis Frein and to draw up a timetable for the work with him.

- October 14* Lenin attends a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party's C.C. to discuss, among other things, the work of the organ of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities, the newspaper *Zhizn Nationalnostei* (The Life of Nationalities).
- October 16* Lenin writes a note to the Printing and Publishing Industry Department of the Supreme Council of the National Economy asking to inform him of the reasons for the poor quality of *Pravda* reprints, as instanced by the newspaper issue No. 231 of October 16, 1920, and demands that measures should be taken to improve the quality of reprints.
- October 30* Lenin attends a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party's C.C. to discuss the forthcoming trip of M. I. Kalinin, President of the All-Russia CEC, in a special train for agitational purposes to Siberia or the Kuban region.
- November 18* Lenin writes his "Theses on Production Propaganda (Rough Draft)." At the end of November he talks to A. Z. Kamensky, Deputy People's Commissar for Nationalities and, draws his attention to the need to publish literature on the national question.

1921

- January 13* Lenin writes a letter to Y. M. Steklov, Editor-in-Chief of *Izvestia*, in which he approves of his article "In the Country of the Commune" dealing with the Tours Congress of the French Socialist Party and advises him to write a pamphlet on French socialism.
- February 16* Lenin attends a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party's C.C. which passes a decision to start a discussion in *Pravda* on the substitution of a tax in kind for the surplus appropriation system in the countryside.
- March 8* Lenin acquaints himself with a review of letters he received about the situation in the countryside and the peasants' mood, this review being prepared by V. A. Karpinsky, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Bednota*.
- March 8-16* Lenin presides at the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). He delivers the opening and summing-up speeches at the Congress. He gives a report on the political activity of the Party's Central Committee, on the substitution of a tax in kind for the surplus appropriation system, on Party unity and the anarcho-syndicalist deviation and so on.
- April 18* Lenin writes a note to N. P. Gorbunov on the need to give assistance to the Nizhni-Novgorod radio laboratory in the development of inventions by engineer M. A. Bonch-Bruyevich in radio engineering.
- April 28* Lenin sends a letter to the State Publishing House in which he proposes that the Book Chamber be entrusted with the collection and systematisation of clippings from central and local newspapers on economic problems.

- April 29** Lenin signs a circular telegram to all regional economic councils, in which he issues instructions to send local economic journals and newspapers to the Managing Department of the Council of Labour and Defence.
- May 4** Lenin attends a meeting of the Political Bureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) to discuss the work of the press committee, of the State Publishing House, the purchase of newsprint abroad, etc.
- May 9** Lenin writes a note to the editorial boards of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on the need to publish systematically in these newspapers the materials of the white emigre press showing the whiteguards' attempts to torpedo the negotiations between the R.S.F.S.R. and bourgeois states on trade and concessions.
- May 23** Lenin writes a letter to N. L. Meshcheryakov, the manager of the State Publishing House, on the distribution of the books and pamphlets published on political, economic and other problems and on the draft decision of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) and the Council of People's Commissioners on this matter.
- June 3** Lenin chairs at a meeting of the Council of Labour and Defence to discuss, among other things, the draft decision on the broadcasting of an "oral newspaper" in Moscow.
- June 7** Lenin makes a summary table on industrial production in the country in January-March 1921 according to materials published by the newspaper *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*.
- September 1** Lenin writes a letter to the Editorial Board of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* on the basic tasks of this organ of the Council of Labour and Defence in dealing with economic problems.
- September 2** Lenin writes a letter to V. S. Dovgalevsky, the People's Commissar for Post and Telegraph, in which he asks the information about the work of the Central Moscow Radio Station and about the manufacture of radio receivers and installations and loudspeakers.
- November 10** During the poll of the members of the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) by telephone Lenin favours the adoption of the Politbureau's draft decision on the publication of the "Foreign Press Review".
At the end of 1921, Lenin writes a note to G. I. Krumin, Editor-in-Chief of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, in which he says that one of the newspapers' major tasks is to collect and analyse information on the performance of local enterprises and administrative organs.

1922

- January 12** Lenin tables his proposal in the Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) about the assignment of money for the Nizhni-Novgorod radio laboratory.
- January 26** Lenin writes a note to V. A. Karpinsky requesting him to supply information about the number of letters received by the newspaper *Bednota* from peasants and about the most important new things touched upon in these letters.

- March 12* Lenin finishes his article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism".
- March 23* Lenin writes greetings to the newspaper *Bednota* on the occasion of its fourth anniversary.
- March 27—April 2* Lenin directs the work of the Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). He opens the Congress, delivers the political report of the Central Committee, the closing speech on the C.C. report and speaks at the closing session of the Congress.
On April 2 he speaks about advertisements in *Pravda* in connection with the Congress resolution "On the periodical press and propaganda".
- May 2* Lenin writes the article "On the Tenth Anniversary of *Pravda*".
- September 27* Lenin writes a note to N. I. Bukharin, editor of *Pravda*, about gross mistakes committed by V. G. Pletnyov, Chairman of the C.C. of the Proletcult, in his article "On the Ideological Front" published in *Pravda* on September 27.
- October 6* Lenin sends greetings to the Editorial Board of *Put Molodezhi* (The Path of Youth), a newspaper published by the Bauman District Committee of the Young Communist League of Russia.
- November 1* Lenin sends greetings to *Petrogradskaya Pravda* on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution.
- December 15, 16* Lenin suffers another, serious attack of illness.

1923

- January* Lenin dictates his articles "Pages from a Diary", "On Co-operation", "How We should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" and "Our Revolution (Apropos of N. Sukhanov's Notes)".
- March 2* Lenin finishes his article "Better Fewer, But Better".
- March 14* *Izvestia* publishes a Government communique about the deterioration of Lenin's health. The Government considers it necessary to publish regularly medical bulletins about his illness.
- April 17* The Twelfth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) begins its proceedings. It sends greetings to Lenin.
- April 27* The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) elects Lenin a member of the C.C. Politbureau.
- May 15* Lenin is moved to a country house in Gorki, near Moscow.
- May 24* The Politbureau of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) adopts a decision to expedite the publication of Lenin's articles "On Co-operation" and "Our Revolution (Apropos of N. Sukhanov's Notes)."
- Second half of July* Lenin's health improves.
- August 10, 1923—January 20, 1924* Every day Lenin looks through *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and other newspapers and also journals, makes notes on the materials read by N. K. Krupskaya to him.

December 16 Lenin is visited by A. A. Vorovsky, Editor-in-Chief of the Journal *Krasnaya Nov* (Red Virgin Soil) and by N. N. Krestinsky, a C.C. member.

1924

January 17—19 N. K. Krupskaya reads Lenin an account of the proceedings of the Thirteenth Party Conference and its resolutions published in *Pravda*.

January 21 A sudden sharp deterioration of Lenin's health. At 5.60 p. m. Lenin dies.

Index of Periodicals

A

Appeal to Reason — a newspaper published by the American Socialists; founded in Girard, Kansas, in 1895. It appeared until 1919. — pp. 44, 286

Avanti! (Forward!) — a daily, central organ of the Italian Socialist Party since 1896 — pp. 311, 321

B

La Bataille (The Battle) — a newspaper, organ of the French anarcho-syndicalists, published in Paris between 1915 and 1920 — pp. 271, 273

Bednota (The Poor) — a daily newspaper published in Moscow by the Central Committee of the R. C. P. (B.) in 1918–1931 — pp. 196, 345

Berlingske Tidende (Berling's Recorder) — a newspaper; organ of the Conservative Party of Denmark, published in Copenhagen since 1749 — p. 251

Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung (Berlin Daily and Commercial Paper) — a bourgeois newspaper published in 1871–1939 — p. 233

Birzhevka, short for *Birzheviye Vedomosti* (Stock-Exchange Recorder). Its abbreviated name became a generic term for the unscrupulous and venal bourgeois press.

Birzheviye Vedomosti — a bourgeois newspaper published in St. Petersburg in 1880–1917 — pp. 186, 187, 210, 245

Borba (Struggle) — Trotsky's journal, published in St. Petersburg between February and July, 1914 — p. 421

Bremer Bürger-Zeitung (Bremen Civil

Paper) — organ of a Bremen group of German Social-Democrats, published in 1890–1918 — pp. 265, 266

Bulletin of the Provisional Bureau of the Communist International in Amsterdam, issued on February 1, 1920 — p. 277

C

The Call — a daily newspaper, organ of the British Socialist Party, published in London from 1916 to 1920 — p. 317

Communist International — a monthly journal, organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, published in English, Russian, French, German and Chinese in 1919–1943 — pp. 311, 319

Corriere della Sera (The Evening Messenger) — a daily bourgeois newspaper published in Milan since 1876 — p. 223

D

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher (German-French Yearbook) — a Paris journal, edited by K. Marx and A. Ruge and published in German in February 1844 — p. 24

Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata (A Social-Democrat's Daily) — a non-periodical paper, published by Plekhanov in Geneva and Petrograd in 1905–1912 and 1916 — pp. 167, 168

Dyelo Naroda (People's Cause) — a daily newspaper, organ of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, published in Petrograd, Samara and Moscow from 1917 to 1919 — pp. 185, 192, 240, 244

Dyelo Zhizni (The Cause of Life) — a legal journal of Menshevik liquidators

tors, published in St. Petersburg from January to December 1911 — pp. 258, 259

Dyen (Day) — a bourgeois liberal daily, published in St. Petersburg from 1912 to 1917 — pp. 245, 413

E

L'Echo de Paris (Paris Echo) — a bourgeois daily newspaper of an ultra reactionary trend, published from 1884 to 1938 — p. 250

L'Eclair (Lightning) — a bourgeois daily newspaper, published in Paris from 1888 to 1939 — p. 233

The Economist — a bourgeois weekly journal published in London since 1843 — pp. 216, 238, 374

Ekho (The Echo) — a legal Bolshevik newspaper published in St. Petersburg in June and July 1906 — pp. 10, 19

Ekonomist (Economist) — a journal of the Industrial and Economic Department of the Russian Technical Society, published in Petrograd in 1921 and 1922 — p. 329

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn (Economic Life) — a daily newspaper, organ of the Supreme Council of the National Economy of the USSR and the economically oriented People's Commissariats. In the latter period of its publication it was the organ of the U. S. S. R. People's Commissariat of Finance, the State Bank and other financial institutions and the Central Committee of the Bank Workers' Union, published in Moscow from 1918 to 1937 — pp. 346, 347, 349, 351 — 359

F

Frankfurter Zeitung (Frankfurt Newspaper) — a daily newspaper, organ of big German capitalists, published in Frankfurt-on-Main from 1856 to 1943 — p. 222, 231

Die Freiheit (Freedom) — a daily news-

paper, central organ of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, published in Berlin from 1918 to 1922 — p. 304

G

Gazeta-Kopeika (Kopek Newspaper) — a bourgeois daily of the gutter-press type, published in St. Petersburg from 1908 to 1918 — p. 45

Gazeta Robotnicza (Workers' Newspaper) — illegal organ of the opposition Warsaw Committee of Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania, published in Cracow and Zurich from May to October 1906 and from 1912 to 1916 — p. 174

Die Gleichheit (Equality) — a Social-Democratic magazine, organ of the women's labour movement in Germany, published in Stuttgart from 1890 to 1925 — pp. 281, 283

Golos Sotsial-Demokrata (A Social-Democrat's Voice) — a newspaper of the Menshevik liquidators, published from 1908 to 1911 first in Geneva and then in Paris — pp. 258, 259

Das Gothaer Volksblatt (Gotha Popular Leaflet) — a German Social-Democratic newspaper, published in Gotha since 1915 — p. 269

I

Die Internationale — a journal of the German Left Social-Democrats, founded by R. Luxemburg and F. Mehring and published in Berlin in April 1915 — pp. 293, 294

L'Internationale — a newspaper of the French syndicalists, organ of the Social Defence Committee, published in Paris from February to July 1919 — p. 303.

Irkutskoye Slovo (Irkutsk Word) — a newspaper with Menshevik liquidationist leanings, published in 1911 to 1912 — p. 393

Iskra (The Spark), the old Bolshevik *Iskra* — the first All-Russia illegal Marxist newspaper, founded by Lenin in 1900 and published in Leipzig, Munich, London and Geneva between 1900 and 1903 — pp. 7–9, 19, 21, 26–30, 33, 42, 56, 63, 67, 75, 78, 80, 90–95, 98, 102, 103, 106–112, 143, 152–154, 161, 162, 368, 374, 376, 385

Iskra, the new Menshevik *Iskra* — the newspaper taken over by the Mensheviks in 1903. Beginning with No. 52 it became the organ of the Mensheviks and was issued till 1905 — pp. 115, 116, 118, 119, 121, 124, 125, 130, 132, 153, 156, 160, 161, 163, 226, 229

Izvestia (Bulletin) — a daily newspaper, published first in Petrograd and then (since October 1917) in Moscow — pp. 181, 242, 243, 344, 360, 417, 425

Izvestia TsIK (Bulletin of the CEC) — a daily newspaper which appeared under different names: *Izvestia Petrogradskogo Soveta Rabochikh i Soldatskikh Deputatov* (Bulletin of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies), *Izvestia TsIK i Petrogradskogo Soveta Rabochikh i Soldatskikh Deputatov* (Bulletin of the Central Executive Committee and the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies). It was founded in February 1917 and till October of that year was controlled by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. After the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets in October 1917 the newspaper became the official organ of Soviet power. In March 1918, its publication was transferred to Moscow — p. 147

J

Journal des Debats politiques et litteraires (Journal of Political and Literary Discussions) — a bourgeois journal published in Paris from 1894 to 1921 — p. 250

Justice — a weekly, founded in London

in 1884 as the central organ of the Social-Democratic Federation. In 1911 it became the organ of the British Socialist Party. It continued to be published until 1925 — p. 292

K

Der Kampf (The Struggle) — a monthly journal, organ of Austrian Social-Democracy, published in Vienna in 1907–1938 — pp. 267, 268

Kolokol (The Bell) — a political journal, published by the prominent Russian revolutionary democrats A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogaryov in London and Geneva in 1857–1868 — pp. 5, 16, 17

Kharkovsky Proletary (Kharkov Worker) — a hectographic journal issued in October 1901 — p. 30

Kommunismus — a journal of the Communist International published in Vienna in 1920–1921 for South Eastern Europe — pp. 316, 319, 320

Krasnoye Znamya (Red Banner) — a journal, organ of the Economists, published by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad in Geneva in 1902 and 1903 — p. 139

Krugozor (Horizon) — a literary and political journal of the bourgeois liberal trend, published in St. Petersburg in January and February 1913 — p. 407

L

The Labour Leader — a weekly paper, organ of the British Independent Labour Party, founded in 1890 and published in Manchester, London and Glasgow. In 1922, its name was changed to *The New Leader* and in 1946, to the *Socialist Leader* — p. 272

Leipziger Volkszeitung (Leipzig Popular Paper) — organ of the Left wing of German Social-Democracy, founded in 1894. Since 1917, it was the organ of "Independents" and between 1922 and 1933 — the organ of Right Social-Democrats — pp. 265, 384

Lichtstrahlen (Light Rays) — a monthly journal, organ of a group of German Left Social-Democrats, published in Berlin from 1913 to 1921 — p. 293

Listok Pravdy (Pravda Leaflet) — one of the names of the legal Bolshevik daily newspaper *Pravda*. Only one issue appeared on July 6 (19), 1917 — pp. 27, 183, 248

Listok Rabochego Dyela (Workers' Cause Leaflet) — a non-periodical publication of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, issued in Geneva in 1900–1901 — pp. 67, 101

Luch (Ray) — a legal daily newspaper put out by Menshevik liquidators in St. Petersburg from 1912 to 1913 — pp. 142, 143, 264, 399, 405, 410, 411, 414–419

M

The Manchester Guardian — a liberal bourgeois newspaper, published since 1821 — p. 250

Metallist (see *Rabochy po metallu*)

Moskovskiye Vedomosti (Moscow Recorder) — a daily newspaper which was first published in 1756, in the 1860's — 1890's it expressed the views of the most reactionary sections of the landowners and clergy; from 1905 onwards it was one of the organs of the Black Hundreds. It was closed down after the October Revolution in 1917 — pp. 227, 384

Mysl (Thought) — a legal Bolshevik philosophical and socio-economic journal, published in Moscow in 1910 to 1911 — pp. 20, 391, 422

Mysl — a daily newspaper published by the Socialist-Revolutionaries in Paris from 1914 to 1915 — p. 271

N

Nachalo (The Beginning) — a legal Menshevik daily published in St. Petersburg in November and December 1905 — p. 10

Nakanune (On the Eve) — a magazine of the Narodnik trend, published in London in 1899–1902 — p. 363

Narodnaya Duma (Popular Duma) — a Menshevik newspaper, published in St. Petersburg in April 1907 — p. 10

Nash Put (Our Path) — a legal Bolshevik newspaper, published in Moscow in August and September 1913 — p. 420

Nasha Zarya (Our Dawn) or *Dyelo* (The Cause), or *Nashe Dyelo* (Our Cause) — a magazine, organ of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg in 1910–1914 — pp. 258, 259, 264

Nashe Dyelo — a legal Menshevik monthly, published in Moscow between September and November, 1906 — p. 165

Nashe Khozyaistvo — a magazine, organ of the Tver Gubernia Economic Council published between 1921 and 1923 — p. 348

Neftyanoye i Slantsevoye Khozyaistvo (Oil and Shale Production) — a technical magazine, published in Moscow in 1920 to 1925 — p. 348

Neue Rheinische Zeitung (New Rhenish Newspaper) — a daily paper, edited by Marx and Engels and published in Cologne in 1848–1849 — pp. 24, 124–127, 128, 129

Die Neue Zeit (New Times) — theoretical organ of the German Social-Democratic Party which appeared in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923 — pp. 144, 266

Nevskaya Zvezda (The Neva Star) — a legal Bolshevik newspaper, published in St. Petersburg between February and October 1912 — pp. 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 139, 140, 260, 398, 402–406, 411

Nevsky Golos (The Neva Voice) — a legal newspaper put out by the Menshevik liquidators in St. Petersburg between May and August 1912 — pp. 42, 44, 140, 144, 260, 261, 401, 403

Novaya Zhizn (New Life) — the first

legal Bolshevik newspaper, published in St. Petersburg in October — December 1905 — pp. 9, 10, 19, 261

Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta (New Workers' Paper), *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta* (Our Workers' Paper) and *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (Northern Workers' Paper) — a legal newspaper put out by the Menshevik liquidators in St. Petersburg in 1913 and 1914 — pp. 172, 263, 264, 268, 420, 422

Novaya Zhizn (New Life) — a daily newspaper, organ of a group of Social-Democrats who called themselves „Internationalists“. It vacillated between the conciliators and the Bolsheviks. The paper was published in Petrograd between 1917 and 1918 — pp. 9, 10, 19, 261, 387, 425

Novoye Vremya (New Times) — a daily newspaper of the reactionary nobility and bureaucracy, published in St. Petersburg from 1868. In 1905, it became an organ of the Black Hundreds; in October 1917, it was closed down — pp. 26, 110, 111, 113, 143, 183, 186, 187, 226, 229, 233—237, 274, 286, 395, 415

Novy Put (New Path) — a daily newspaper, published by the Left wing of the Constitutional-Democratic Party in Moscow from August to November 1906 — p. 164

O

Obrazovaniye (Education) — a literary, scientific-popular and socio-political journal, published in St. Petersburg in 1892—1908, it printed articles written by Marxists — p. 364

L'Ordine Nuovo (New Order) a daily newspaper, organ of the Left wing of the Italian Socialist Party, founded in 1919. From 1921 to 1922 it was the organ of the Communist Party of Italy, published in Turin — p. 315

Osvobozhdeniye (Liberation) — a magazine put out by bourgeois liberals in Stuttgart and Paris in 1902—1905 —

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P

Pays (Country) — a Portugal newspaper of a republican trend — p. 223

Le Peuple (The People) — a daily newspaper, central organ of the Belgian Labour Party, published in Brussels since 1884 — p. 268

Pod Znamenem Marksizma (Under the Banner of Marxism) — a monthly philosophical and socio-economic journal, published in Moscow from 1922 to 1944 — pp. 323, 324, 327—329

Polyarnaya Zvezda (The North Star) — literary and political publication; the first three books were published by A. I. Herzen and the subsequent ones by A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogaryov in London in 1855—1862. The last book came out in Geneva in 1868 — p. 16

Le Populaire (Popular Paper) — a French centrist newspaper, published in Limoges from 1916 and in Paris from July 1917. It became the official organ of the French Socialist Party in 1921 — p. 311

Pravda (The Truth) — a daily Bolshevik newspaper, started publication in St. Petersburg on April 22 (May 5), 1912. During the First World War *Pravda* was repeatedly closed down by the tsarist government, but reappeared under other names. Beginning with March 5 (18), 1917 it came out as the central organ of the Party — pp. 11, 19—22, 36—46, 139—143, 170, 172, 177, 181, 185, 196, 201, 239, 242, 243, 245, 248, 260, 261, 267, 274, 340, 344, 358, 390, 397—400, 402—408, 410, 411—416, 418—420, 422, 424, 425

Pravda (Vienna edition) — a newspaper, published by Menshevik liquidators in Vienna from 1908 to 1912, organ of Trotsky — p. 134

Pravda Truda — one of the names of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* (Sep-

tember — October 1913) — p. 420

Pravo (Law) — a legal magazine of a liberal trend, published in St. Petersburg in 1899–1917 — p. 110

Proletarskaya Pravda (The Proletarian Truth) — one of the names of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* issued between December 1913 and February 1914 — p. 422

Proletarskoye Dyelo (The Proletarian Cause) — a newspaper, organ of the Bolshevik group in the Kronstadt Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, published in 1917 — p. 425

Proletary (The Proletarian) — an illegal Bolshevik newspaper, central organ of the R. S. D. L. P., published in Geneva from May to November 1905 — pp. 9, 19, 32, 123–125, 148

Proletary — an illegal Bolshevik newspaper, in fact the central organ of the Bolshevik Party, published in Vyborg, Geneva and Paris in 1906 — 1909 — pp. 224, 226, 233, 282, 283, 386–391

Proletary — one of the names of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, issued in Petrograd in August and September 1917 — p. 425

Prosvetsheniye (Enlightenment) — a legal Bolshevik theoretical journal, published in St. Petersburg in 1911–1914 and 1917 — pp. 20, 171, 172, 408, 415, 418, 419, 421

Put Pravdy (The Path of Truth) — one of the names of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, issued between February and June 1914 — pp. 12, 13, 421, 422

R

Rabochaya Gazeta (Workers' Paper) — illegal organ of a Kiev group of Social-Democrats, published in 1897 — pp. 57, 82, 92–95, 134, 137, 138

Rabochaya Gazeta — a popular organ of the Bolsheviks published illegally in Paris from 1910 to 1912 — pp. 134, 137, 138, 170, 260, 361

Rabochaya Gazeta — central organ of the Mensheviks, published in Petrograd from March to November 1917 — pp. 185, 245, 246, 260

Rabochaya Mysl (Workers' Thought) — a newspaper published by a group of Economists in Russia in St. Petersburg, Berlin, Warsaw and Geneva from 1897 to 1902 — pp. 7, 8, 30, 31, 64, 67, 75, 79, 84, 87, 88, 92, 96, 259, 362, 367

Rabochaya Pravda — one of the names of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, issued in July and August 1913 — p. 420

Rabocheye Dyelo (Workers' Cause) — a non-periodical magazine of the Economists, organ of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, published in Geneva from 1899 to 1902 — pp. 8, 64, 67–69, 73, 75, 79, 80, 89–92, 96, 99–101, 118, 258, 364, 366, 372, 374

Rabochy (The Worker) — a Social-Democratic workers' newspaper, issued in St. Petersburg in 1885. Only two numbers were published. — p. 7

Rabochy — a popular Socialist-Democratic paper published illegally in Moscow from August to October 1905 — p. 131

Rabochy i Soldat (The Worker and the Soldier) — a newspaper, central organ of the R. S. D. L. P.(B.); appeared in Petrograd in August 1917 in place of the newspapers *Pravda* and *Soldatskaya Pravda*, closed down by the Provisional Government — p. 425

Rabochy po metallu (Metal Worker), or *The Metallist* and *Nash Put* — a magazine, organ of the Metal Workers Union, first with liquidationist leanings and from 1913 onwards a Bolshevik Party organ, published in St. Petersburg between 1906 and 1914 — pp. 405, 409

Rabotnik (The Worker) — a non-periodical symposium, published in Geneva from 1896 by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad — p. 8

Le Radical — a Paris bourgeois newspaper, appeared in 1881 — p. 233

Rech (Speech) — a daily newspaper, central organ of the Cadet Party, published in St. Petersburg in 1906 to 1918 — pp. 165, 186, 187, 189, 190, 230, 234, 239—241, 244, 262, 263, 389, 391, 402, 415

Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe (Rheinish Newspaper on Politics, Trade and Industry) — a paper to which Marx contributed since April 1842 and which he began editing since October that same year. It also printed some articles by Engels. Under Marx's editorship the paper assumed ever more definite revolutionary-democratic direction. It was published in Cologne in 1842—1843 — p. 23

Die Rote Fahne (Red Banner) — a daily newspaper, first the central organ of the Spartacus League and then the organ of the Communist Party of Germany, published in Berlin, Prague and Brussels between 1918 and 1939 — pp. 303, 304

Russkaya Gazeta (Russian Newspaper) — organ of Trotsky — p. 175

Russkaya Molva (Russian Common Talk) — a daily newspaper, organ of the bourgeois Progressive Party, published in St. Petersburg in 1912—1913 — p. 415

Russkaya Mysl (Russian Thought) — a monthly journal of the liberal bourgeoisie, published in Moscow from 1880 to 1918; after the Revolution of 1905—1907 it became the organ of the Right wing of the Cadet Party — p. 138

Russkaya Starina (Russian Olden Times) — a history journal, published in St. Petersburg between 1870 and 1918 — p. 73

Russkaya Volya (Russian Freedom) — a bourgeois daily newspaper, published in Petrograd in 1916—1917 — pp. 240—242, 244, 246, 274

Russkiye Vedomosti (Russian Records) — a daily newspaper which expressed the

interests of the liberal landowners and bourgeoisie, published in Moscow in 1863—1918. In 1905 it became the organ of the Right Constitutional-Democrats — pp. 144, 227—230

Russkoye Bogatstvo (Russian Wealth) — a monthly magazine, published in St. Petersburg from 1876 to 1918. In the beginning of the 1890's it was the organ of the Liberal Narodniks and since 1906 the organ of the Popular Socialist Party (of a semi-Cadet type) — pp. 138, 269

Russkoye Slovo (Russian Word) — a liberal bourgeois daily published in Moscow in 1895—1917 — pp. 144, 186, 187, 189, 191, 233

S

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Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta (see *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*)

Social-Democrat — a journal of British Social-Democrats, published in London in 1897—1911 — p. 292

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Sotsial-Demokrat — illegal central organ of the R. S. D. L. P., published in Vilno, Paris and Geneva in 1905—1917 — pp. 19, 248, 265, 270, 389

Sotsial-Demokrat — a daily newspaper of the Moscow Regional Bureau, the Moscow Committee, and subsequently the Moscow District Committee of the Bolshevik Party. It was published in 1917—1918 — p. 425

Der Sozialdemokrat — an illegal newspaper, central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Zurich and London from 1879 to 1890 — pp. 256, 290

Sozialistische Auslandspolitik (Socialist Foreign Policy) — journal published

by Kautskyites in Berlin from 1915 to 1922 — p. 294

Sozialistische Monatshefte (Socialist Monthly) — the principal journal of the opportunists among the German Social-Democrats and one of the organs of international opportunism. It was published in Berlin from 1897 to 1933 — pp. 257, 264, 266–268

Sovremennik (The Contemporary) — a monthly liberal and political journal published in St. Petersburg from 1911–1915. Centered around it were Menshevik liquidators, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Popular Socialists and “Left” liberals — pp. 138, 271, 392

Sovremenny Mir (The Modern World) — a monthly literary, scientific and political journal which appeared in St. Petersburg from 1906 to 1918. Since 1914 it was the organ of social chauvinists — pp. 138, 411

SPB Rabochy Listok (St. Petersburg Workers’ Leaflet) — an illegal newspaper, organ of the St. Petersburg League of the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, published in St. Petersburg and Geneva between February and September 1897 — p. 7

Stoikaya Mysl (Steadfast Thought) — see *Zhivaya Mysl*

Svoboda (Freedom) — a journal published in Geneva from 1901 to 1902 by the Svoboda group of intellectuals who advocated the ideas of Economism and terrorism — pp. 47, 84, 85, 89, 94, 97, 103

T

Le Temps (Time) — a bourgeois daily published in Paris from 1861 to 1942 — pp. 216, 220, 225, 239

The Times — a daily newspaper of the British conservative bourgeoisie, published in London since 1785 — pp. 213–220, 239, 251, 252

Le Titre Censure (Banned Name) —

a Paris newspaper, published between April and June 1919 — p. 303

III-me Internationale (Third International) — a newspaper, organ of a group of French Communists published in Moscow in 1918 and 1919 — p. 250

Tovarishch (Comrade) — a bourgeois newspaper, organ of the Left Cadets, published in St. Petersburg from 1906 to 1908. The contributors to the paper were also Mensheviks — pp. 164 to 167, 169, 221

U

Utro Rossii (The Morning of Russia) — a bourgeois daily newspaper, organ of Moscow industrialists, published in 1907 and between 1909 and 1918 — p. 233

V

Vek — a newspaper of Left Constitutional Democrats, published in Moscow in 1906–1907 — p. 167

Vestnik Yevropy (European Messenger) — a monthly magazine published in St. Petersburg from 1866 to 1918. It advocated the views of the Russian liberal bourgeoisie — p. 138

La Vie Ouvrière (The Worker’s Life) — a daily newspaper, organ of the revolutionary syndicalists. Since 1944 it is the organ of the General Confederation of Labour. It was published from 1909 to 1914 and from 1919 to 1939; it resumed its publication in 1944 — p. 311

Volna — (The Wave) — a legal Bolshevik daily; published in St. Petersburg in 1906 — pp. 10, 19

Vorwärts (Forward) — a daily newspaper, central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, published in Berlin from 1891 to 1933. It resumed its publication in 1946 as the organ of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin — pp. 54, 164, 233, 260, 272, 275, 304, 308, 363, 389

Vperyod (Forward) — an illegal Bolshevik newspaper, published between December 1904 and May 1905 — pp. 9, 19, 124, 125, 134, 160, 218, 226, 378—381

Vperyod — a legal Bolshevik newspaper, published in St. Petersburg in May — June, 1906 — p. 172

Vozrozhdeniye — a legal magazine of Menshevik liquidators, published in Moscow in 1908—1910 — p. 262

W

Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung (Vienna Workers' Paper) — a daily, central organ of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party published in Vienna since 1889. After 1945 it is the central organ of the Socialist Party of Austria — p. 397

Y

Yedinstvo (Unity) — a legal newspaper of the Right wing of the defencist Mensheviks, published by Plekhanov in St. Petersburg from May to June 1914 and from March to November 1917 — pp. 244, 274

Yuzhny Rabochy (The Southern Worker) — an illegal Social-Democratic newspaper, published by the group Yuzhny Rabochy, published in Yekaterinoslav from 1900 to 1903 — pp. 86, 158

Z

Za Pravdu (For Truth) — one of the names of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, published from October to December 1913 — p. 421

Zaprosy Zhizni (Life's Requirements) — a monthly magazine of the Constitutional Democrats, Popular Socialists and Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg in 1909—1912 — p. 402

Zarya (Dawn) — a Marxist scientific and political journal, published in Stuttgart in 1901—1902 — pp. 56, 75, 108

Zavety (Precepts) — a legal liberal and political journal of the Socialist-Revolutionary trend, published in St. Petersburg in 1912—1914 — p. 415

Zihna (Struggle) — a newspaper, central organ of the Lettish Social-Democratic Party, published since 1904 in Riga, Brussels and Petrograd. Since 1919 it is the organ of the Communist Party of Latvia — p. 284

Zvezda (The Star) — a legal Bolshevik newspaper, published in St. Petersburg in 1910—1912 — pp. 19, 36—39, 44, 139, 140, 392—395, 400—403

Zyemshchina (Zemstvo Policy) — a Black Hundred newspaper, published in St. Petersburg in 1909—1917 — p. 143

Zhivaya Mysl (Living Thought) — a legal newspaper of the Left wing of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, published in St. Petersburg in 1913 and 1914 — p. 269

Zhivaya Zhizn (Living Life) — a legal newspaper of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg in July 1913 — pp. 261—263

Zhivoye Dyelo (Living Cause) — a legal daily newspaper of the Menshevik liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from January to April 1912 — pp. 42, 44, 393—395, 403

Zhivoye Slovo (The Living Word) — a daily Black Hundred newspaper, published in Petrograd in 1916 and 1917 — pp. 183, 247, 248

Die Zukunft (Future) — a journal published in Berlin by K. Hochberg, a representative of the Right wing of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in 1877 and 1878 — p. 255

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ПРОПАГАНДИСТ ПОСЫЛАЕТ НА КУРЬЕРОВ РАБОЧИМ ПОСЛАНИЕ

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20 коп. 5 коп.

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Front page of daily *Pravda* No. 80, issued on 1st August 1912, and carrying an instalment of Lenin's article entitled "Results of Six Months of Work"

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Heute Dienstag, nach 7 Uhr abends, im großen Saal des schiedlichen Hibeltheaters, 17. B. Theaterstraße 20, Haupttheater aus dem neuen Theater mit wichtiger Tagesordnung. Referent: Herr Professor Dr. Hibel. Eintritt frei. Anfang 8 Uhr.

Die Offenbar der Holen Nemea

Modan, 30. August. (Yunförmig) Grobbericht vom 30. August: Bei Breit-Zitow belegten wir mehrere Ortschaften. Westlich der Stadt. Im Gebiete: Wiesdams und Grabielowom Kömpfe nur brüchige Bedeutung.

Der Kemberg hat indige Rämp
Im Krimabichnit wurde bei Drech
Frangelausgedeworfen, wobei
reicher Gelangene, Melchäse und

Woslaw, 30 August. (Funkgramm) Im
Bereich der Bahnlinie Stalinstal-Woslaw
wurden einige Stationen robort. Maizko
Distrikt und einige Ortschaften an der
Ufer des Flusses Woslaw wurden be-
freit. Der Kommandant wird fortge-
schickt.

[illegible]

Die polnischen Weibungen, die
ungeheure russische Verluste
erlitten. Die russische Armee ist durch
Hinterlassung bei Stenno-Drinsk zum Rückzug
gezwungen worden. Hierbei habe ich einige Briefe freige-
geben. Die Verluste waren un-
beschreiblich, die Kampfkraft der He-
ere unerschütterlich, neue Verstärkungen
sind eingeplant.

London, 30. August (Hullington) Koch
schien aus Waiden ist der Stieg in ein
Stadium getreten. Folgende, 30. Weil
niedlich von Bemberg, war
durch Cubicums Heiter
krohet. Ron vermutet, b
die neue Offensive nördl
von Bemberg einlegen we

Die Bolen gegen den Frieden

[illegible]

Ein Brief Lenins an die öster- reichischen Kommunisten.

Die Österreichische Kommunistische Partei hat bei den
 die Wahlen in das bürgerlich-demokratische Parlament
 beigeführt. Der für sich herbeigeführte zweite Wähler
 Kommunistischen Internationale hat die Teilnahme
 der Kommunisten an den Wahlen in die bürgerlich-
 demokratischen und an diesem Parlament nicht als sich
 selbst anerkennend.

[illegible]

Die überlebenden Herren Sozialdemokraten im
geringen Parlament (sowohl als auch auf der
„Freiheitsgeheiß“) ist es ihrer eigenen Art be-
trüben wie feindseligeren Demokraten, läßt nur dann
zu, so (sowohl) der überlebenden (sowohl) der
seit von der Sozialdemokratie. Die Kommunisten
in das bürgerliche Parlament, um auch von dieser
Seite des bürgerlichen Parlamentes (sowohl) der
Gegensatz, in dem man die Arbeiter und, welche
Gegensatz, diesen (sowohl) der (sowohl) der

Ein Argument der Herrschenden Romanen ist die Teilnahme am kaiserlichen Hofstaat, welches mehr aufmerksame Durchsicht ihrer Frauen folgendes.

„Das Parlament hat für die Kommunisten mit
beurteilen des Zeitungs als Zeitungs aus England.
halb einengen mit der Zeitungs an den Stellen in
ausgewähltes Parlament. Im Deutschland gibt es
Arbeiterrat, den man nicht nehmen könnte. Das
hat die deutschen Kommunisten eine andere
ein.“

Da heute dieses Argument als nicht richtig gilt, so ist die Kraft beider, dieser kaiserlichen Seite entgegenzutreten, müssen mit beider von uns Mäßen arbeiten. Solange es irgendwelche beabsichtigte Arbeitgeber - nicht nur Arbeitgeber, sondern Arbeitgeber und Arbeitnehmer - den Ideen beiderseitigen Willens bei Vertrag der Arbeiter in die Zukunft vertraut, müssen wir beiden befehlen, eben aus jenes Willens Resultat die grundsätzlichen Gedanken der Arbeiter und insondere die nicht proletarischen merkwürdigen Ideen, am meisten merkend und lebend betreuend.

Solange die Samenpflanzen noch nicht die Frucht bei der Streuung mit in die Erde zu nehmen und die Wurzeln durchdringen können durch die Verhinderung leicht die gegen die Keimgröße, solange nach Keimgröße über die Streuung verlegt und um Wurzeln die verschiedenen Klößen der Breite herangeht, und hier vergrößert, gutten Marken zu nehmen, zur Eignung einer allen Keimformen, einer Keimgröße oder, solange im Nüchternen, wenn die Wurzeln betragen werden, mit Wurzeln "Trennung" die Innenabstände und ständige

[illegible][illegible]

Sie, die Österreichischen Kommunisten werden nicht eingeschüchtert durch die Schlägertruppe der Wiener und anderer Polizei der Genspolizei. Die Österreichischen Kommunisten werden sich nicht krummen, ellen und erheben sich bei der Unterstützung der internationalen proletarischen Kämpfer gegen die Herrschaft der Bourgeoisie. Wir haben keine Angst vor dem Kämpfer der Arbeiter der über die Lösung bestehender, internationaler und internationaler Kämpfer, sondern wir werden sie unterstützen und werden sie mit der Unterstützung der Arbeiter proletarischen Kämpfer, mit ihren Vertriebenen und ihren Töten, auf jeder Stelle in der Welt (und nicht nur den Wienern) nach wie Wiener, Arbeiter Arbeiter und Otto Wurm, der Genosse, der Kämpfer, der Arbeiter, der die Kommunisten in der ganzen Welt unterstützen.

15 August 1974

Wach in sepiet Stunde ist eine echte Wahnwitz
des Fortführers des revolutionären Proletariats
an die österrichische Kommunistische Partei gekom
men, um sie vor einem politischen Fehler zu be
wahren. Der Brief des Gen. Lenin entspricht voll
ständig den letzten Richtlinien des unlängst ab
gegangenen Sammelbes des Dritten Internationalen

Es werden kein Geheimnis, wenn ich er-
kläre, daß in unsern Reihen nicht wenige
sind, die denselben Standpunkt betreten
haben, als die Partei den Ruf erteilt hat,
nicht an den Wahlen zur Nationalversammlung
teilzunehmen. In der Tat, es ist nicht zu begrei-
fen, wie man gut durch die Ereignisse kommen und
dem die tiefsten ethischen Differenzen in der
deutschen Arbeiterpartei eine Lösung geben
hatte, die mit Erfolg gefast wurde. Unsere ver-
schiedensten Geister sind auch in dem, was



V. I. Lenin and V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich in Kremlin courtyard — Moscow,
September 1918



Lenin delivering his speech at the unveiling of the provisional monument to Marx and Engels in Revolution Square, Moscow, 7th November 1918

1^{te} Stufe: kor. vord. Zentr. Kuppeln in Elemente
 2^{te} Stufe: Lenen die Entwicklung der
 marxistischen Taktik
 3^{te} Stufe: Siege.

nicht pedantisch, nicht starr
 gedacht

Was ist "Klasse"?

(A) einige Taktik

(B) die Klassen...

Es gibt eine
 Taktik, an die man
 schwerer Reiz
 haben

Ob die Klassen noch nicht genügend

"vorsichtige, zögernde" Taktik
 ein Verwurf?

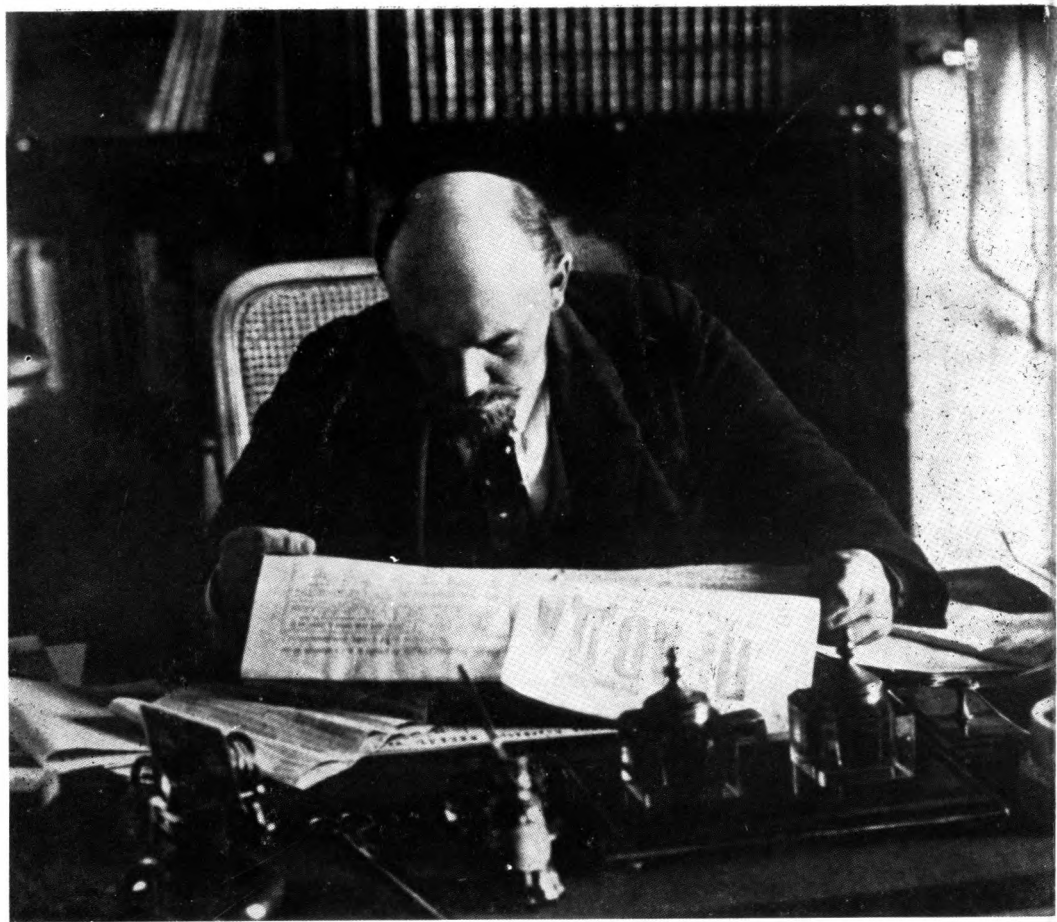
nicht so, wie in Russland....

gewissen die Klassen -

Page 5 of Lenin's manuscript "Notes and Plans of Lecture to be Delivered on the occasion of the 3rd Congress of the Comintern," (22nd June - 12th July 1921)



Lenin makes a report on the international situation at a meeting of the Second Congress of the Communist International in Petrograd, July 19, 1920



Lenin in 1918